

# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Vol. XLIX, No. 2*

*January, 1944*

---

## The Early Pattern of the Common Law

NELLIE NEILSON\*

IT HAS been pointed out to me by a kind and helpful critic that of late years scholars sitting in this "slidery" seat, as King James would have called it, have more often presented for your consideration certain generalizations drawn from their own experiences in the study of history than specific subjects of discussion drawn from their own field. My life has been spent in the Middle Ages, however; my field of work lies there, and I can not forego the opportunity to talk about them, especially since they seem to me to offer material pertinent to our own time.

Medieval English law seems very far from the world of today, and in the opinion of many may well be left unstudied until the war is over and we can once again enjoy the pleasant pursuit of the nonessential. Perhaps the differing of opinion among medievalists is only self-delusion, but I hope not. Surely it is essential that the history of the great contestants should be known, not only for its own sake but also for the growth of political and social ideas

\*Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association at New York on December 29, 1943. The author is professor emeritus of history at Mount Holyoke College.

whose birth lies hidden in the remote past but whose influence has had an important share in forming present opinion and action resulting therefrom. The roots of the present lie deep in the past, a truism that we cannot today despise if we seek a solution of our own difficult problems.

Especially, I believe, we should study those characteristics of English history which make her different from other countries, her constant stress on the particular forms of self-government and civil liberties which she has developed and which, we must gratefully acknowledge, she has in part passed on to us. Much of her history is our history. Our own law is in part derived from her law and legal procedure. We think in large measure the same legal thoughts, in spite of many political and social differences. The same lawbooks and legal dictionaries are used by both of us, and we cannot appropriate so much of her essential framework without some recognition and knowledge of the model from which we have acquired it. The pattern of her common law she began to build very long ago, and throughout her history she has continued to elaborate it quietly without violent breaks or changes. It is a living organism and one the knowledge of which is especially essential to us Americans in war and in peace.

The medieval pattern of her law was well formulated by England in the two hundred years that followed the Norman Conquest, the period when there was most danger, perhaps, of the imposition of alien rules and regulations. The legal interest of this faraway and somewhat obscure period centers in the growth of the king's justice and its contact with already existing laws and customs. I have chosen this period for several reasons. It has to my mind intrinsic interest, and we are a little inclined to neglect it, or, rather, in the dearth of material it has to offer, we are often inclined to endow it with some of the conditions that belong clearly to later times. But most of all I have chosen it because it illustrates the English method of gentle change. It is the period when the first lines of the magnificent common law were graven deep into their legal foundation, never to be erased by later edifices.

The meeting during this period of the common law with church law, the *ius commune* of the universal church, is a great subject by itself and one that I am not competent to deal with. I must leave that to church historians. It has also, however, contacts with another and more manageable condition existing in England, namely, English customary law in its various forms, some pre-Conquest English custom, some post-Conquest adaptations of that custom.<sup>1</sup> Maitland speaks of 1066 as the midnight of legal history and empha-

<sup>1</sup> Compare the statement from Bracton, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, ed. George E. Woodbine (New Haven, 1915), folio 1a: There are many and diverse customs in England according to the diversity of places. For the English have many things by custom which they do

sizes how little written law the Normans had of their own and how English law is far more than a meeting of two thin streams, English and Norman, and is really formed out of all the complex events and currents of the history of the time. It is by no means simply made out of a law imposed by a conqueror upon a conquered people.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps some of William's patience with lack of uniformity in his conquered country was due to his tolerance of tradition and to the old idea, now passing, that the law of the conqueror was too good for the conquered. The Conqueror promised, it will be remembered, to maintain the law of Edward the Confessor.

What were then some of the variations in law and custom that were present in England after the Conquest and how among them did the so-called common law become of transcendent importance for later history? First and most important is its evident basis in the law of the royal court, of the king's court, and in the method of that court in dealing with conditions as it found them. It grew slowly with the increasing understanding of the "tremendous empire of the kingly majesty."<sup>3</sup> It was the general law as accepted by the courts, not yet clearly enacted in statute,<sup>4</sup> in contact with local customs, with the ideas and conditions that lay along its always extending boundaries. With such conditions it dealt variously, rarely by denying their force, more often by adapting them to common-law notions, or by adopting them entirely and enshrining them in common-law rules. In later times these variations became unimportant, but in speaking of the early formative days it is necessary to see that the law was exposed to different variations and that it molded these slowly and reasonably into the growing pattern of king's law and court procedure. It is a mistake to think of early English law as too immature to be reasonable. Even early pleading shows a desire to understand differences and to make a peaceful adjustment with existing conditions.

Recognition of special custom occurs again and again in early English legal material. Very commonly in early Year Books and other material one meets the words *consuetudo loci*—the best-known phrase—*usage de pays*, *mos est*, *mos comitatus*, *consuetudo comitatus*, *consuetudo rape*, *consuetudo christianitatis*, *consuetudo marisci* or *burgi* or *ville*, or *manerii*, custom and law of London, of Wales, of Scotland, of Normandy, of the manors of the

---

not have by law, for example, in diverse counties, cities, boroughs, and vills where always one must inquire what is the custom of a given place and how those who allege customs use them.

<sup>2</sup> Frederic W. Maitland, *Constitutional History of England* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 6–10; Frederick Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (Cambridge, 1903), I, 94–110.

<sup>3</sup> See *Leges Henrici Primi* in Felix Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1903–16), 6, 2; Pollock and Maitland, I, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Theodore F. T. Plucknett, *Statutes and Their Interpretation in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 11, 12.

king, custom and liberty of the vill, *usage defeat commune ley que usage usee parmi le pays*, and other like phrases.<sup>5</sup>

The *consuetudo loci* refers in general to the local custom of particular places. Such custom has always had for me a peculiar fascination, I suppose because it takes one so far back into the past, unknown but imaginable. From certain regions such custom excludes all or part of the operations of the king's law, the law of the king's courts. What will the natural desire for legal uniformity do with these? Perhaps the most important of such customs and in some ways the clearest, because it lasted down into times of definition and was too strong to be obliterated, is the well-known custom of Kent. The story goes, but there is no proof of its truth so far as I know, that William, marching through Kent after Hastings, was met by the moving wood of Swanscombe, composed of men in armor, carrying trees, and that William thereupon agreed to let them have their customs intact. In later times the custom included at least fourteen points, of which some were evidently accretions.<sup>6</sup> The most famous of them were partibility of tenement amongst heirs, which was of course not peculiar to Kent but was found elsewhere in that great socage tenure which was accepted as part of the common law and which is crying for its historian. Secondly, the payment of gafol, from which the gavol-kind tenure of Kent takes its name, a name not used elsewhere in England in early documents, but, I am informed, occasionally found in South Scotland. Thirdly, a lesser age for attaining majority than that of the common law and also a different ruling on dower, on the awarding of the custody of a minor to the *procheym ami*, usually the mother instead of the lord; again a relief paid on entrance into property of double the rent, a special jury system, and in cases of felony, poetically, "the father to the boghe, the son to the ploghe." In addition several economic rules regarding rights of way and the cutting of trees in Kent, the county of dennes, appear. Such rules were regarded as *selon l'usage de Kent*, and the various manuscripts in which they were recorded await an editor.<sup>7</sup> I suppose that the explanation of their long endurance against the pressure of common law is the fact that Kent was in part the much-traveled road to the Continent, where formulation of rules would occur early, and in other part was covered by the weald, which was backward and inaccessible.

<sup>5</sup> William S. Holdsworth, *History of English Law* (3rd ed., London, 1922), III, 167-70; William C. Bolland, ed., *Year Books of Edward II: 7 Edward II*, XV (London, Selden Society, 1918), 212.

<sup>6</sup> Neilson, "Custom and the Common Law in Kent," *Harvard Law Review*, XXXVIII (1925), 482-98.

<sup>7</sup> See William Lambarde, *Perambulation of Kent* (London, 1826), pp. 513 ff., for one version of the custom.



Other counties too had once their own customs, but we know little of these because they were assimilated into the common law at an early date. The *Prerogativa Regis* in the statute book speaks of the custom of the county of Gloucester. The custom of the counties of York and Norfolk is very occasionally mentioned without much definition, and also the custom of a Sussex rape, of the honor of Brittany, and of "the north where cornage prevailed." Cradle right, the succession of the youngest son to the holding, while a variation of the common rule of the succession of the eldest, was sufficiently prevalent to have a place of its own. It seems sometimes to have been in force in certain distinct localities, especially in mid-southern England.

Of a nature similar to county peculiarities were the long-prevailing rules regarding tenements called ancient demesne of the king. In these instances royal influence preserved them as separate entities in some legal matters. Much has been written about them.<sup>8</sup> Land in ancient demesne was land which at the time of the Conquest was royal land and had descended as such from Edward the Confessor and was so entered in Domesday Book. The more exact definition seems to have been land that was King Edward's on "the day he was alive and dead," which allows for some changes between 1066 and 1086. For all intents and purposes, however, the picturesque summoning of Domesday Book into court to give evidence that King Edward had held the land in question<sup>9</sup> was sufficient to establish its identity. I am at present engaged in preparing for the Dugdale Society the great book of ancient demesne customs, the Stoneleigh Leger Book. It shows the special writs for lands which had to be brought in the Stoneleigh court and were excluded from the king's courts. These were the little writ of right close, so called in contrast to the usual proprietary writ of right, and the *monstraverunt* against increase of services in such manors. The king insisted on the maintenance of the peculiar writs of ancient demesne, even where the land had been given away by him, feeling that if it should escheat at any time in the future he himself would have more control over it in the manorial court than in the Common Bench. In time the little writ of right when brought for such land in the manor court could by "protestation," as it was called, be changed into some other form of land action. There is much that is of interest in ancient demesne procedure and some points that are not yet clear, but it is clearly accepted as outside common-law jurisdiction.

Other variations in custom are found in boroughs where the borough

<sup>8</sup> See especially Paul Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England* (Oxford, 1892), essay I, chap. III.

<sup>9</sup> For example, see *Year Books*, 33-35 Edward I, p. 310; F. W. Maitland, *Year Books*, 2 Edward II, I (London, 1903), p. 60; W. C. Bolland, *Year Books*, 5 Edward II, XI (London, 1915), p. 126.

court administered its own law in all its own ancient peculiarities. The twelfth century burgess in Cardiff went free of summons, for example, if he could prove that he had one foot in the stirrup and was about to leave the town. Another defendant elsewhere could gain a delay in procedure if he spoke out and said, "Have law." Such picturesque survivals can be seen best in Mary Bateson's *Borough Customs*,<sup>10</sup> but even her two large tomes are by no means exhaustive. Manuscript material discloses many more local customs, which, it is true, add little to her main classifications. Miss Bateson lays great stress on the transference to English boroughs of the customs of boroughs in France, but I think that sometimes the transference is rather due to the appearance in the English borough of customs already imbedded in the surrounding countryside. Similar variations in customs are found in manors and vills. Manorial court records are full of regulations which are often applicable to unfree and free alike and are important because they sometimes preserve old uses and have a definite influence on the development of ideas of freedom and self-government. The old men, *seniores*, of the village are often called into court or are consulted in order that they may give descriptions of old procedure. I have been specially interested in the part played by the old men in drawing lines of division through ancient waste,<sup>11</sup> used from antiquity for common pasture by the men of adjacent sokes, villages, or groups but now to be partitioned among them and their practice of intercommoning thus stopped. Interesting instances of this procedure appear to antedate the strict control by feudal lords. Also it is of interest to see how the village itself regulates the intercommoning of tenants, in other vills outside its group, and the admissions of the cattle of other villages for a sum of money for specified times of pasture. Villages in the great stretches of fen in Holland in Lincolnshire furnish much interesting information on arrangements that are derived from old local conditions of pasture and the use of the waste, which indicate free discussion and common action on the part of villagers.<sup>12</sup>

Another variation from ordinary common-law procedure of a somewhat different kind occurred in the great franchises of Norman England. The legal side of these units is interesting. They were built up before and after the Conquest, in the main for purposes of defense along an unruly border in the north and west. Each was composed of fiefs under an overlord whose position in his domain was in some cases almost that of a king. The "sword of Chester" was in some ways almost equivalent to the "crown of St. Edward"

<sup>10</sup> Publications of the Selden Society, XVIII, XXI (London, 1904-1906).

<sup>11</sup> Neilson, ed., *Terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire* (London, 1920), introduction.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, introduction.

over the lord. The king was still ruler, demanding loyalty and exercising a certain amount of control, in different degree in different franchises, especially over defaulters and traitors.<sup>13</sup>

The most marked characteristic of these great franchises was the usual exemption from the authority of the common-law courts and variations in procedure. From some points of view the palatinates of Chester, Durham, and Lancaster may be considered as the most instructive in their varied history. In ordinary matters the lord took the place of the king, always theoretically by the king's consent. If royal justices appeared within their boundaries it was with the lord's consent, unless there had been a default in feudal justice. The king's writ did not run, although procedure on the lord's writ might be like that of the ordinary courts. Most of the exempt jurisdictions had their general centers in the gateways into Wales, at Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Gloucester, and their lands were in part at least conquered lands. Shrewsbury ceased to be a palatinate in the time of Henry I; Chester went back to the crown in 1237 and was given to Prince Edward in 1254. He finally conquered it, together with Flintshire, Denbighshire, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, and in 1284 the ordinance annexing Wales, which resulted in a compromise between Welsh and English law, was issued. The later survey of the honor of Denbigh, edited by Sir Paul Vinogradoff's seminar,<sup>14</sup> shows some of these points of contact of English and Welsh law and custom, part of the inhabitants living under Welsh custom, part under English. The king's writ did not run in some parts of the liberty, and the king's problem of how to attain a peaceful government was a difficult one. There was no writ of error, no writ of *certiorari*, and the peace that was broken was the lord's, not the king's. Recourse might be had to parliament, however, and the king was regarded as the ultimate *dominus*. The building up of the great Lancaster fief and the accumulation of lands finally in the hands of the Black Prince, from the earldom of Chester and the earldom of Cornwall and other great lordships, is also very instructive. The threads of local liberties and customs were without question gathered up in Westminster and London.

Durham, a very great liberty on the northern border of England, brings in an additional factor, the ecclesiastical courts and church law, for its lord was a bishop. Durham was a border district and often the subject of dispute between English Northumberland and the Scottish kings. It was almost more

<sup>13</sup> Caroline A. J. Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales* (London, 1904), introduction; Thomas F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England* (3 vols., New York, 1920-33); Eleanor C. Lodge and Robert Somerville, eds., *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383* (2 vols., London, 1937); Holdsworth, I, 117 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Vinogradoff and Frank Morgan, eds., *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334* (London, 1914).

Scottish than English. In Dr. Lapsley's famous and admirable book<sup>15</sup> on this franchise we can watch the working of palatinate law and the contact of the franchise with common law and church law. Only crime or an attack upon the king was subject to immediate royal jurisdiction. The maxim developed, "quicquid rex habet extra, episcopus habet infra." The bishop speaks of *pax nostra*. Even here, however, fell the shadow of the crown; not all was left to custom and local law. The king could be reached by petition and the powers of the bishop varied at different times, being at their height from 1292 through the fourteenth century. There are traces of northern custom still remaining in this northern franchise; for example, rewards are paid for the heads of decapitated robbers. Among these great jurisdictions should be mentioned the Channel Islands, where the custom and law of Normandy prevailed, and the Isle of Man, once belonging to Norway.

Within England were many smaller franchises which varied in the amount of exemption they had from common-law procedure. Most extensive of the liberties in privilege, but very small in the extent of territory, were the *banlieux* of monasteries and ecclesiastical foundations. Within a limited territory the king's writ did not run, but the abbot or ecclesiastical officer was the lord. Within the Four Crosses of St. Edmund, for example, such jurisdiction was exercised, and common-law officers were excluded. Very rewarding in this connection would be a study of some of those bundles of writs preserved in the Record Office, not yet calendared and still largely unused. They furnish a good field of investigation for some student of early English history. There often is a bundle of five or six hundred for each of the four law terms of the Common Bench in a given year. Even the later ones, those of early Edward III, the only ones which I have used, are full of detailed matters of importance. Those in any bundle dealing with liberties show the sheriff delivering the writ to the bailiff and the bailiff returning it, or not, with notes on its adventures within the liberty. If the bailiff has not delivered it, the writ *ne omittas propter libertatem* is issued to the sheriff, which enables him to enter the liberty and perform his duties. In cases where the king's writ did not run the substantive common law is found within the liberty, and the difference was one of procedure, but even here old custom would also be recognized:

And as in good St Edwards days  
So must it go, St Use allows,  
When Norman lords, ride English ways.

<sup>15</sup> Gaillard T. Lapsley, *Count Palatine of Durham* (New York, 1900).

While not very much may be known of the early law of exempt jurisdictions, some light is thrown on them in the great volumes wherein are printed the Hundred Rolls and subsequent proceedings. The English Justinian before and after his accession in 1272 tried to cut down on private jurisdiction wherever it lay by questioning the ancient warrant for it, and, even when accepting the efficacy of its charter or claim of prescription, by preventing its extension—and incidentally by taking large fines for settlement of the cases. There is a good deal of information on this in early Year Books dealing with franchises and their legal status. An interesting example arose in the liberty of Durham; the question is asked: May the king's sheriff enter the liberty on the king's command? The answer is that the bishop has such franchise that he has royal power, and no minister of the king may enter except on default of franchisal justice. It is objected that the king's prerogative is above any franchise, and if a sheriff distrains in a liberty he does it in contempt of the king, who has by his prerogative created the liberty.<sup>16</sup>

Other exemptions from the application of the common-law courts and their rules were functional in character. Districts lay outside the *corpus comitatus*, for example, because they were furnishing mines and their products. Mines for precious metals, gold and silver, belonged to the king, and his claim was accepted generally. Non-precious metals were mined in the usual way, although Richard I tried to claim special control over them. They went with the land, and the owners had their rights, as they had over the rest of their soil. But there was a third class of miners more interesting from the point of view of exemption from common-law rules. In some places where there were tin and lead mines, for example, in Cornwall and Devon, there had grown up groups of miners from very early times who formed semi-independent communities with their own customs and their own courts.<sup>17</sup> Besides courts they had executive convocations and perhaps legislative meetings as well, and no tinner might be subpoenaed by any other court for any matter determinable in his own court. Their workings were divided into five districts in each county, each with its own court and steward, and there were larger courts under wardens. The Pipe Rolls refer to their privileges in 1243 and 1297, and there are earlier references. Richard I's charter of 1198 gives some picture of the organization as it was at that time, but the tin mines were much older even than this and were probably pre-Conquest in origin, forming little states of great solidarity.

<sup>16</sup> *Year Books*, 5 Edward II, XI, 62 ff.

<sup>17</sup> George R. Lewis, *The Stannaries: A Study of the English Tin Miner* (Boston, 1908); L. Margaret Midgley, ed., *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296-1297* (London, 1942).

Similar communities of miners may be found in the Mendips and in the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire and elsewhere, for example, in Cumberland and Derbyshire. I suppose that the crown insisted on maintaining its courts in order to keep the metal flowing. Common-law procedure took too long. Here, too, definition of the miners' privileges and place of work restricted their extension. They were clearly not always welcome neighbors to the owners of the soil. A late protest states, for example, that more than sixty tanners entered on the Black Prince's demesne and soil, "which was bearing corn, barley, oats, beans, and peas as fine as any in Cornwall, and have conducted water in, by reason of which they deluge the land, and nothing remains but stones and gravel."

Still other regions in England that were in early times under special jurisdiction of their own in regard to certain matters of daily living were those which had to be defended against natural dangers arising from the sea and the flooding by rivers. Very clear provisions were made for the regions of salt marshes and the fenlands. Great fens stretched sometimes far inland in low-lying countryside, and the "sweet waters" of the downrushing rivers meeting low plains and the high tides of the sea were piled back and the land along their course was thus flooded. From the earliest time local safeguards had to be set up to protect the inhabitants. One remembers the old stories of the stilt-walking and skating Gyrvians, the fenmen of the Wash, and their rude ways. Here there grew up the custom of the maintenance of walls and dykes and ditches, the extension of the duty of maintenance over all living in the region, and the heavy punishments of those who failed in their duty. In like manner great salt marshes along the seacoast where the sea overflowed and had to be kept walled out were from Saxon days treated specially and severely. The negligence of one might endanger all. Romney Marsh is a very good example; its great churches are an evidence of the close habitation of the region in early times, and we know of the great "innings" from the sea made by early archbishops. In time ordinances and rules were made and officers appointed for the maintenance of old safeguards, including within them all of the ancient customary arrangements that were possible.<sup>18</sup> Thus the old sea wall of Dymchurch, made famous in our time by Kipling, was retained, and also some of the old regulations made necessary by the white steeple of Lydd church, which drew into the sandy shore ships laden with raisins and spices.

<sup>18</sup> Neilson, ed., *Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington, Kent* (London, 1928), introduction; Henry C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland* (Cambridge, 1940); William Dugdale, *History of Imbanking and Drayning of Divers Fenns and Marshes* (London, 1662).

A very delightful variation in common-law procedure is found in the beautiful regions called forests. You may remember Chaucer's lines:

Thorgh me men gon into that blysfyl place  
Of hertis hele and deadly woundis cure,  
Thorgh me men gon unto the welle of grace  
There grene and lusty May shall ever endure.  
This is the weye to all good aventure.

The dark obscurity of the Conquest period makes it difficult to see the exact development of the forest administration. We know of William's assignment of New Forest and certain other regions mentioned in Domesday Book to be forests and so to be distinguished from the usual *silva* or *boscus*, the ordinary woodland. We know of pre-Conquest charters which speak of hunting parties in certain regions, but it is probable that the pre-Conquest wood was not forest in the technical sense in which the word is later used, and it is clear that early English forest organization owes much to the already existing forests of Normandy. One finds many familiar arrangements in the Forest of Eu in Normandy, for example.

To understand the technical use of the word forest in England we must give up its usual connotation as *statio ferarum*, home of wild beasts, wild wood, or waste. After the Conquest the word refers to a region probably largely wood and waste, it is true, but also a region under forest law and not necessarily excluding all habitation. Such districts were usually the king's but not always. There are a few private forests also, like Whitby's in the East Riding, or Coupland in Cumberland, and down through early English history there are forests which disappear later in the rapes of Sussex and in Lancaster regions in the north and elsewhere. Within the forests both the red and fallow deer and the boar are preserved for royal hunting and for any disposition the king may wish to make of them. He may grant them to his sister, or to a bishop, or to lords passing through the forest, or to Westminster Abbey, with a hunting *mence* sounded as they are put on St. Peter's altar. To the poor are sometimes given those that are putrid and not fit for ordinary use!

In these lands there was built up a very clear and exacting system of punishment and fine. Sad was the lot of the jolly huntsman who let himself be caught doing any injury to vert, that is, bush high enough to cast a shadow, or venison. Forest fines were very profitable to the king, if looked at from that point of view! There were many royal officers, forest justices in eyre, foresters for special forests, some of whom held their office in fee and had many perquisites. There were courts held for forest trespasses and offenses, and records of their procedure give a clear view of many forest arrangements.



There are, however, some points where questions arise. It is clear enough that the common law operated in forest regions for offenses not concerned with the forest code. Such cases may be studied in common-law records of villages, for example, that lay within the forest boundaries and where other kinds of offenses might also well occur. In the wilder regions the offenses would usually be only forest cases tried by forest law. There still remain from early days, however, some puzzling questions, resulting largely from the confusion regarding the status of given regions. Districts were put in or out of forest law, and uncertainty of boundaries prevailed. Such questions, however, would be satisfactorily answered as time went on and clear definition appeared. It is obvious that the king would enjoy a wide district to hunt in and perhaps still more obvious that he would enjoy the fines his officers could collect. But it is also clear that feudal lords objected to the curtailment of their liberty implied in afforestation, and still more clear that commoners in land once free would object to interference with their cattle going to and from pasture and with the cutting of wood for fuel. Did common-law officers and forest officers always reach a happy adjustment in these matters? The number of forests even in the restricted days after the great disafforestations of Edward III was listed at approximately seventy, and the extent of their liberty must once have been greater.<sup>19</sup>

The forests had other uses. They were used as breeding places of the king's studs, his great horses, his mares, his cows. They seem sometimes to have been part of defense units, as in the rapes of Sussex, and also they became sometimes, by the king's command, refuges for those in danger from invasion by the Scots.

Merchant law and maritime law also present many interesting features that differ from the common-law procedure.<sup>20</sup> They are concerned very often with those who were not Englishmen, or those Englishmen who lived away from the neighborhood where the particular cases were coming to trial or peaceful settlement. The word foreigner was used for both these classes. Foreign merchants in our sense of the word came into England in groups for trade purposes and as a rule used the code of laws which English ports preferred, the so-called code of Oléron, originating in Barcelona but widely

<sup>19</sup> James F. Willard and William A. Morris, eds., *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, I (Cambridge, 1940), chap. ix, where many references are given; also Elizabeth Cox Wright, "Common Law in the Thirteenth-Century English Royal Forest," *Speculum*, III (1928), 168 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See especially Holdsworth, I, 526 and *passim*; *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History*, compiled by various authors and edited by a committee of the Association of American Law Schools (Boston, 1907-1909), I, chap. ix; Ephraim Lipson, *Economic History of England* (London, 1915-31), I, 196 ff.; Charles Gross, *The Gild Merchant: A Contribution to British Municipal History* (Oxford, 1890).

used elsewhere, just as merchants of the Mediterranean used often the Consolato del Mare. These codes, established in coast towns of the countries using them, were of much importance in the growth of merchant law. We find the code of Oléron clearly in use in the days of Edward II. There is not very much evidence of earlier procedure.

There was in very early days a somewhat mysterious *custuma maritima* on the sea coasts for trade or protection. The courts of admiralty do not develop clearly until the days of Richard II. The main problem of these early coastal courts was to secure speedy justice. Foreign merchants were "come today and gone tomorrow" and procedure in ordinary courts of common law was extremely slow. So special arrangements were made. In Grimsby, for example, cases relating to foreign fish had to be settled within three tides, those related to foreign corn within three days. The judges in these courts were the merchants, and the procedure, except in land cases, was summary. It was pointed out long ago by Professor Gross that these courts helped to extend a reasonable method of proof against the slower methods of compurgation and ordeal, assize, and outlawry used in the common-law courts. Thus at Yarmouth, courts sitting at tide time had to render their decision by the next tide.

There is a certain picturesque side to the contact of the king's courts with old customs and regulations such as I have enumerated. Except where customary procedure is definitely *encountre la ley*, as the court puts it, there is a desire to maintain the old tried familiar ways and to adapt them to new ends. Reasonable conditions will be maintained, and dull uniformity is not in itself considered meritorious. The king's prerogative, which might well become a danger to just, established, and reasonable procedure, is in practice required to conform with reason. Four times the early courts as described in the Year Books decide in a case before them that the king has not proved his right to have certain advowsons to churches. Once his order to execute a delinquent is not obeyed. The answer given to him may be couched in courteous terms: "The king would not have asked for this if he had known the circumstances which would make assent to it unjust"; "the king has forgotten that he had already appointed to this post." It is assumed that the king will govern with justice and support the courts in the maintenance of old tradition where it is just. The royal prerogative while a very important factor in the administration of law is in practice restrained within reasonable limits. The king too must adapt himself to the customs of the kingdom, sometimes upholding them as in ancient desmesne, in the thought that to himself may sometime escheat the land in question.

One would not today perhaps like Serjeant Maynard of old choose a year book to divert one in one's travels, but one can still read legal records with profit to see how the free governments of the English-speaking peoples have come into being. Professor McIlwain has spoken recently of the "barrier" of the common law against tyranny and injustice. I should like to add, in concluding my remarks, those well-known words of Sir Francis Bacon: "The king is bound by the law he makes. He cannot exceed the limits of that law. If he does wrong he is nothing but tyrant. Ideo cor regis bene regentis dicitur in manu dei." Nurtured in the common law we Americans too have pledged against what seems to us to be tyranny "our lives, our fortune, and our sacred honour."

# Public Records under Military Occupation

By ERNST POSNER\*

AS the war has progressed different aspects of the total problem of public records during armed conflict have seemed of major importance. When war clouds began to gather, when European archivists hauled from attics and basements the evacuation boxes of 1914-18, and when large parts of Warsaw and Rotterdam were wiped out by aerial bombardment, the protection of records against the hazards of war was bound to engage the interest of American scholars and professional archivists. At a later stage, when it became apparent that Germany's military triumphs were due, in part at least, to thorough utilization of a carefully kept record, while this country's previous war experience had to be wrested from documents inadequately organized and even more inadequately preserved, the importance of the archival function in the war effort was conclusively demonstrated. We like to believe that the war has entered a new phase in which the liberation of the subjugated countries has become a possibility, and we are beginning to wonder in what condition their records will be when this possibility can be made a reality. Researchers and archivists may find it timely, therefore, to take up another aspect of the subject of records and war—that of the effects of military occupation on records. History and whatever information is available on the occupied countries of Europe will help us to learn how records fare at the hands of an invader and the role they play under military occupation.

In dealing with our problem, we shall forego a discussion of medieval and early modern times, during which destruction and spoliation of archives, libraries, and monuments and objects of art were regarded as the natural rights of the invader.<sup>1</sup> During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such practices gave way to recognition of the privileged character of a country's scientific, artistic, and other cultural possessions. This development was reflected in certain clauses of the Hague Conventions on the Laws and Customs of War of 1899 and 1907, but to what extent archives could benefit from these clauses was by no means clear.<sup>2</sup> Evacuation to places of safety, therefore,

\*Dr. Posner, a former archivist at the Privy State Archives in Berlin, is now adjunct professor of archival administration at the American University, Washington, D. C.

<sup>1</sup> For a brief list of cases in point see Hans Schlitter, "Die Zurückstellung der von den Franzosen im Jahre 1809 aus Wien entführten Archive," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXII (1901), 109.

<sup>2</sup> See Articles 27 and 56 of the regulations attached to the two conventions. In the version of 1907, Article 56 prescribes that "The property of municipalities, that of institutions dedicated

remained the only reliable means of protecting them from destruction or seizure by the conqueror.<sup>4</sup>

Seldom, however, has it been possible to accomplish anything like complete evacuation, with the result that large quantities of records have had to remain in the invaded countries, exposed to the vicissitudes of war and occupation. Leaving out entirely the effects of artillery and aerial bombardment, danger for records results from the simple fact that most of them consist of paper, which has great potential value for the soldier. American soldiers in Manila<sup>4</sup> and German soldiers in Briey in Lorraine<sup>5</sup> were certainly not the first to discover that records could serve as fuel. During the Easter Rebellion of 1916 the Sinn Feiners, entrenched in the Dublin Public Record Office, considered the records suitable material for barricading the windows and gates of the building;<sup>6</sup> and German forces withdrawing from Cambrai in 1918 found the city archives handy for setting fire to the city hall.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, it is well known that the occupations of soldiering and of souvenir hunting are not incompatible. A sign posted by the German authorities in the archives of the town of Jarny in Lorraine said frankly and revealingly, "Further pilfering of the archives cabinets is strictly forbidden!"<sup>8</sup>

But the authorities themselves may want to enlist the records in their military effort. We know that well into the nineteenth century cartridges were made of paper. Obviously the invader would not be so nearsighted as to overlook the archives of a conquered country as the source of a much-needed raw material, and not always would he be as considerate as French

---

to religion, charity, and education, the arts and sciences, even when State property, shall be treated as private property" and must not be seized, destroyed, or damaged. While the records of municipalities, being part of their property, qualify without any doubt for the benefits of Article 56, those of a state would seem to do so only if preserved in "institutions dedicated to . . . the . . . sciences." Archival establishments of a state, however, are in the first place service agencies of the government and only secondarily institutions of a scientific character. The head of the Belgian State Archives at Antwerp was therefore not on secure ground when he pointed out to requisitioning German soldiers that his archives "se trouvaient sous la protection de la Convention de la Haye" (*Les archives de l'État en Belgique pendant la guerre, 1914-1918*, Brussels, n. d., p. 188). James E. Edmonds and L. Oppenheim, *Land Warfare: An Exposition of the Laws and Usages of War on Land for the Guidance of Officers of His Majesty's Army* (London [1912]), p. 93, enumerate as public property that in accordance with Article 56 must be treated as private property "crown jewels, pictures, collections of works of art and archives, although papers in connection with the war may be seized even when forming part of archives."

<sup>4</sup> For early examples see Henri Stein, "Les archives et la guerre," *Le bibliographe moderne*, XXII (1924-25), 196.

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War for the Period from Dec. 1, 1900, to Oct. 15, 1901* (Washington, 1901), I, 130.

<sup>6</sup> A. Ruppel, "Kriegsschutz der Archive in Französisch Lothringen," *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der Deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine*, LXV (1917), 10.

<sup>7</sup> "British and Allied Archives during the War," Royal Historical Society, *Transactions*, 4th series, II (1919), 30.

<sup>8</sup> Charles-Victor Langlois, "Rapport au ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux arts sur le service des archives, 1918-1919," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, LXXX (1919), 392.

<sup>9</sup> Ruppel, "Kriegsschutz," *Korrespondenzblatt*, LXV, 10.

troops in Vienna in 1809 who confiscated only useless records for their victory fireworks.<sup>9</sup> In more recent times records of occupied territory have been used to replenish not the ammunition but the paper mills of the victor. In the part of Poland occupied by the Austrians during the first World War all useless papers were earmarked for that purpose, and their selection was carried out by a number of sergeants who, unfortunately, did not know the Polish language. Some 420,000 pounds of documents were condemned by these experts.<sup>10</sup> Even when in principle the integrity of archives is respected, the buildings erected for them may be used by the invader to house his troops or administrative authorities, with resulting harm to the records. One of the strongest complaints of Belgian archivists was that in 1914 troops were quartered in the state archives of Arlon, Liège, and Namur and that later the administrative quarters of the Arlon and Liège archives, their search rooms, and even their stacks had to be turned over for German offices.<sup>11</sup> The same practice was employed with a vengeance by the American forces in 1919. Office space being scarce in Coblenz and "competition for buildings . . . very bitter," the state archives was operated as a hospital for venereally infected women until May, 1920, when the building was restored to its original use, since it "had proved unsatisfactory."<sup>12</sup>

The fact that during the last war, at least, flagrant losses were happily avoided was due to an important development that took place on the part of the Central Powers, who alone, or practically alone, held foreign territory. They learned that protection of archives against military combat action, abuse, and plundering was one of the responsibilities of occupying forces. Not the archives but the monuments of art were the first to be recognized as deserving conservation, and the movement for their protection can be traced back to two specific events, namely, the burning of a large part of Louvain, including its famous library, and the bombardment of the Rheims cathedral. Europe had seen no war for forty years, no extended war for a century, and had acquired a sensitivity to wartime disasters that now is just a historical phenomenon. So violent was the reaction in neutral countries that the Germans found it necessary to redeem their country in the eyes of the

<sup>9</sup> Schlitter, "Die Zurückstellung," *Mitteilungen*, XXII (1901), 112.

<sup>10</sup> Tadeusz Manteuffel, "Archives de l'État en Pologne; origines, organization et état actuel," *Archeion*, IX (1931), Supplement, 7-8.

<sup>11</sup> "British and Allied Archives," *Transactions*, 4th series, III (1920), 30-32; *Les Archives de l'État en Belgique*, pp. 191-92, 333-40, 379-80.

<sup>12</sup> Folders entitled "Medical History of the American Forces" and "Annual Report, 1920," in file 319.1-2 of the records of the Surgeon General's Office in the National Archives. See also *American Military Government of Occupied Germany, 1918-1920: Report of the Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs, Third Army and American Forces in Germany* (Washington, 1943), pp. 146-47.

world by inaugurating "wartime protection of monuments of art." From the fall of 1914, therefore, so-called art officers were attached to the army commands, including those in the military hinterland, and to the governments of occupation and became the official protectors of such monuments in their respective districts.<sup>13</sup>

Wartime protection of records developed in the wake of the protection of monuments. From the beginning of 1915 archives in occupied France and Belgium were methodically visited by experts from the staffs of German archival agencies, and a system of protective measures, including evacuation of endangered archives to places of safety, was inaugurated. The most elaborate setup was provided for the Government General at Warsaw. After the city had fallen in 1915 the Archives Administration of the Imperial Government General was established. It was headed by Dr. Warschauer, a German archivist of excellent reputation, and staffed with eighteen persons, among them three German and two Polish archivists. The German administration took charge of the great Warsaw archives centers, made the records accessible, concentrated records left behind by the fleeing Russians, passed on the disposal of useless papers, inspected the local archives, and carried on, in short, most of the functions of a modern archives administration.<sup>14</sup> Warschauer proved a humane and considerate chief, willing, for instance, to renounce direct control of the Main Archives of Ancient Documents because its director, Wierzbowski, could boast more years of service than he and, in addition, the title of a Russian excellency. The tribute paid to Warschauer by a Polish archivist after the Germans had left is noteworthy: "Justice compels us to acknowledge that the German administration has saved many an archives establishment from destruction and spoliation. For, in spite of a certain bias that could be readily understood in a German, our archives had a true and successful protector in the person of Warschauer."<sup>15</sup>

It seems that during the present war a system of records protection, similar to that of 1915, has been established in a number of German-occupied countries. In the Netherlands there functions a German Archives Office,<sup>16</sup> a Ger-

<sup>13</sup> See the comprehensive report by Paul Clemen, "Aufgaben und Arbeiten des Kunstschutzes im Weltkrieg," in Max Schwarte, ed., *Der Grosse Krieg* (10 vols., Leipzig, 1921-33), X, 389-421.

<sup>14</sup> On the German Archives Administration see Warschauer's *Geschichte der Archiv-Verwaltung bei dem Deutschen Generalgouvernement Warschau* (Berlin, 1919) and his autobiography, *Deutsche Kulturarbeit in der Ostmark* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 269-318.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318.

<sup>16</sup> See my survey of archival developments in the Netherlands after the German invasion, *American Archivist*, V (July, 1942), 202-205. From *Netherlands News*, VI, no. 6 (May 11-May 25, 1943), p. 185, it appears that the original of the Treaty of Westphalia, which was preserved in the General Archives of the Kingdom at The Hague, has been removed to Germany, obviously because the Germans considered it an unpleasant witness of Dutch independence.



man archivist has been made the professional expert of the high command in Paris, and Belgian and Norwegian archives are also most probably under some protective regime.

Even though protection of the records of occupied territory had to be acknowledged by the conqueror as a kind of moral obligation, this did not mean that he would fail to use it to grind his own ax at the same time. The Germans not only advertised their protective measures widely to impress neutral visitors but also exploited their unlimited access to foreign archives to implement certain research programs dear to them. This was especially true of the Warsaw archives, which contained material ceded a century ago by Prussia and to which they had been denied access by the Russians. The German Archives Administration set out immediately to arrange these records and to publish inventories of certain groups, and the plan was that, after the war, the administration would live on in the form of a German historical institute whose members would enjoy great privileges in the Warsaw archives.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, during the Rhineland occupation the French Eighth Army interested itself in the State Archives of Speyer and printed an inventory of all French records preserved there.<sup>18</sup> That the population of the occupied territory did not believe in the unselfishness of the protective efforts is not surprising. They frequently considered them nothing more than steps toward the future annexation of the country by the generous protector.<sup>19</sup>

As we have seen, problems of the preservation of records have come to the attention of the invader only very recently, but this does not mean that he did not appreciate their potential value much earlier. To the statesmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the archives of the enemy were the *arcanum arcanorum* that contained information on his secret policies, his resources, and his administrative techniques; hence, getting hold of them, especially the archives of the foreign office, was the urgent desire of the invader. The whole technique of seizing a country's foreign archives and using them for purposes of propaganda may be illustrated by an early example from Prussian history. From copies of diplomatic correspondence, obtained through a spy in Dresden, Frederick the Great learned in the summer of 1756 that a great coalition was forming against him and that Saxony, a country in a strategic position, was the center of the intrigues. Following his policy of dealing rather than receiving the first blow, he invaded Saxony in

<sup>17</sup> Warschauer, *Deutsche Kulturarbeit*, pp. 292 and 313-14.

<sup>18</sup> M. Pfeiffer, ed., *Inventaire analytique des fonds français conservés aux archives de Spire*, publié par les soins de M. le lieutenant G. Vial-Mazel (VIII<sup>e</sup> Armée, Armée d'occupation du Palatinat, 1919).

<sup>19</sup> Philippe Lauer, "Les archives de la Lorraine pendant la guerre," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, LXXIX (1918), 256.

the midst of peace, solemnly proclaiming that he came as a friend and had no offensive designs against its sovereign, the king of Poland and elector of Saxony. When Dresden was occupied, the queen-electress, who had remained in the palace, was required to deliver the keys to the electoral archives but was allowed to affix her seals to the doors. The next day Major von Wangenheim, the officer on duty, received orders to remove the seals and to seize the secret correspondence with the Russian and Austrian governments. From the chapel where she had been praying the queen was hurriedly summoned. She placed herself in front of the door and protested: "Major! What are you going to do? You want to enter this office that the king-elector, my lord, has left to my care. If you want to do that, you may take me along as well." Wangenheim insisted that he had to obey orders, and as the queen stepped nearer and took his hand, he kissed hers "in greatest submission and in strict accordance with the ceremonial of the Saxonian and Austrian courts." This pretty rococo scene ended with the queen's giving in.<sup>20</sup> Her seals were removed, the Prussians entered the office, the records were segregated and bundled, and, with an accompanying check list, they were sent to Berlin where a counselor of the foreign office used them for the *Memoir on the Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony and on Their Dangerous Designs against H. M. the King of Prussia*.<sup>21</sup>

No other action of the king, not even his invasion of Saxony, was so generally condemned by neutral Europe as was his forcing of the Dresden archives. The Prussian Foreign Office felt that public opinion should be enlightened and obtained the services of a university jurisprudent, who prepared a pamphlet that was published in November, 1756, under the title *Letters from a Father to His Son on the Sanctity of the Archives*.<sup>22</sup> In these letters the old man concedes to the youngster, who is imbibing law at a university, that in general archives are inviolable and even impart some of the majesty of the sovereign to their custodian, the archivist. This axiom, however, does not hold good for the case of the Dresden archives in which, he says, the king was not only justified in seizing the documents but obliged to do so in the interest of his people.

It is hardly necessary to stress the similarity between the technique of Frederick the Great in the use of propaganda and that employed in 1914 and in 1939 and 1940. The *Belgian Documents, 1905-14*, published during the first World War, and the German White Books, Nos. 3 and 4, were wholly or

<sup>20</sup> This is a summary of Wangenheim's report on the forcing of the Dresden archives, printed in Reinhold Koser and O. Krauske, ed., *Staatsschriften aus der Regierungszeit König Friedrichs II* (3 vols., Berlin, 1877-92), III, 565-67.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 318-89.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 553-64.

partly based on archival material found in the invaded countries and played up in order to justify German policy before the German people and the world.

To mold public opinion inside the conquered country an invader may find it good policy to punish unfriendly elements and to reward worthy friends, and this again may call for the utilization of records. When during the American Civil War Union troops entered New Orleans, General Butler discovered "a list of persons who had contributed to the support of the Confederacy, and at once levied upon them for the support of the poor."<sup>23</sup> Although in 1939 and 1940 the Gestapo brought along its own well-assorted records to the invaded countries, the Nazis undoubtedly also consulted those of the indigenous authorities to lay their hands on anti-German elements. They did so, at any rate, to reward Belgians of Flemish descent who in 1917 had helped to carry out the wholly illegal separation of the Wallonian and Flemish parts of the country and had otherwise actively co-operated with them. Under a decree of September 6, 1940, which solemnly proclaimed that "Wrong must be righted," such Belgians were granted reparation for all damages to property or honor that they had suffered from their countrymen. Information needed to determine these damages was to be obtained from the archives of the Belgian Ministry of Justice.<sup>24</sup>

As against such sporadic use for specific purposes, public records must become the continuous source of information for the regime of occupation if it takes over part or all of the administration of the occupied territory. To determine the role that records will play in this case, it seems necessary to outline briefly the customary procedure with respect to the treatment of an occupied country. Military occupation, although it does not destroy the legitimate owner's sovereignty over territory lost to the enemy, gives to the latter *carte blanche* as to its government and imposes upon him solely the obligation to restore and maintain, so far as possible, public order and public life, "while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country."<sup>25</sup> A famous German professor of public and international law once expressed the German viewpoint as follows: "In principle, the military authority can do what it chooses in enemy territory; it is limited by humanity and culture, not by right."<sup>26</sup> At any rate, as an effect of occupation, all the func-

<sup>23</sup> Allen H. Carpenter, "Military Government of Southern Territory," American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1900* (Washington, 1901), I, 493.

<sup>24</sup> *Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten Gebiete Belgiens und Nordfrankreichs*, hrsg. vom Militärbefehlshaber (Militärverwaltungschef), no. 14 (Sept. 10, 1940), p. 203-208.

<sup>25</sup> Article 43 of the regulations attached to the Hague Conventions on the Laws and Customs of War on Land.

<sup>26</sup> Wilhelm Kahl during the first convention of German jurists held in Brussels in July, 1915, as quoted by Jacques Pirenne and M. Vautier, *La législation et l'administration*

tions of the legitimate government pass into the hands of the conqueror, who may employ what agencies he sees fit to carry them out. Theoretically, nothing can prevent him from abolishing with a stroke of his pen the administrative and judicial machinery of the occupied country and replacing it by civil or military machinery of his own. In practice, however, the invader will not consider this to his advantage, since it involves him in administrative and judicial detail with which the native officials are much better equipped to cope. Unless special circumstances prevail, therefore, he will appoint a civil or military governor to exercise the prerogatives of the former chief executive and the legislature and to administer such essential services as policing. He will further create effective supervision of the central and provincial machinery by appointing his own nationals to head or control it. Members of the judiciary, on the other hand, and of the lower administrative and the local agencies he will leave in office, if for the sake of their countrymen they are willing or if they can be forced to serve, subjecting them, of course, to supervision and demanding an oath of loyalty. German policy, for example, has lately aimed at obtaining the greatest possible co-operation of native authorities, and its success has been commensurate with the number of Quisling elements among them and the amount of terror that could be brought to bear on the rest. Paragraph V of the proclamations of both May 10 and June 20, 1940, regulating the future regime of Belgium and occupied France, says explicitly: "State and municipal authorities, police and schools must function as before. . . . Their heads are responsible to the forces of occupation for their loyal behavior."<sup>27</sup>

By thus working through native authorities, it might seem that an invader, if versed in the language of the occupied country,<sup>28</sup> need not be greatly concerned about the record of the past as preserved in the archives. This, however, is not the case. Since he creates new law and does not do so in a vacuum but on the basis of existing law, and since he must control the application of old and new law by the native authorities, he must interest himself in legislative and administrative precedents. Thus, in inaugurating social security legislation in Belgium during World War I, the Germans had to make use

---

*allemandes en Belgique* (Paris and New Haven [1925]), p. 23. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Histoire économique et sociale de la guerre mondiale, Série belge*. This work will be referred to hereafter as *Economic and Social History*.)

<sup>27</sup> *Heeresgruppen-Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten Gebiete*, hrsg. von der Heeresgruppe, no. 1 (May 10, 1940), p. 4 (continued under the title quoted under n. 24); *Verordnungsblatt für das besetzte Gebiet der französischen Départements Seine, Seine-et-Oise und Seine-et-Marne*, hrsg. vom Militärbefehlshaber Paris, no. 1 (June 20, 1940), p. 4 (now published as *Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers in Frankreich*, abbr. VOBIF).

<sup>28</sup> This point is duly stressed by Alfred Vagts, "A Memoir of Military Occupation," *Military Affairs*, VII (1943), 18-19.

of the archives of the Belgian ministries.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the control officers who were delegated to serve in the departments could obviously not avoid studying the records if they wanted to make their control effective. The necessity of obtaining and of keeping unimpaired the records of an occupied territory, although administered by its former authorities, was clearly understood by the Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies when he issued his instructions of November 15, 1918, for the civil administration of the Rhineland.<sup>30</sup> The commanders of Allied troops, while proceeding with the occupation, were to safeguard military installations, public buildings, and archives by posting sentries in front of them. As soon as the allied "Officers in Charge of Civil Affairs" had taken up functions in their respective districts, they were to affix their seals to the offices, archives, safes, and other property of public agencies, utility companies, banks, and hospitals, giving special attention to the real-estate books in the offices of the justices of the peace, since "certain persons might be interested in seeing them disappear." These safety measures completed, they were ordered to convene the more important German officials and to announce to them that the public services were to continue under their responsibility and that they were subject to criminal punishment if they destroyed, secreted, or tampered with records, books, money, or means of communication, such as the telephone and telegraph.

While in the normal course of affairs access to the records is certainly not a matter of life and death for an invader who works through the native authorities, the degree to which his regime is actually dependent on the records becomes quite clear to him in those isolated cases where co-operation of the natives ceases. Take, for instance, the case of the deportation of unemployed Belgian workers in 1917.<sup>31</sup> Since the municipalities refused to furnish such workers, the Germans were forced to act directly. In order to act directly, they needed the records on unemployment from the municipal archives, and these the Belgians refused to hand over because it would have meant "furnishing weapons against their own children."<sup>32</sup> Efforts to seize the records were, in most cases, in vain. Workers consequently had to be selected at random and the result was that of the persons deported as many

<sup>29</sup> L. F. von Köhler, *Die Staatsverwaltung der besetzten Gebiete, Belgien* (Stuttgart and New Haven [1927]), pp. 51-52. (*Economic and Social History, Deutsche Serie.*)

<sup>30</sup> Document 20376-A-514 of the records of the General Headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces, in the Adjutant General's Office. A synopsis of this document is found in *American Military Government of Occupied Germany, 1918-1920*, pp. 45-49.

<sup>31</sup> Hans von Winterfeld, "Die deutsche Verwaltung des Generalgouvernements in Belgien," in Max Schwarte, ed., *Der Grosse Krieg*, X, 34-36; Henri Pirenne, *La Belgique et la guerre mondiale* (Paris and New Haven [1928]), p. 188; Fernand Passelecq, *Déportation et travail forcé des ouvriers et de la population de la Belgique occupée* (Paris and New Haven [1928]), p. 105. (The last two in *Economic and Social History, Série belge.*)

<sup>32</sup> Resolution of the Municipal Council of Tournai, Passelecq, *Déportation*, p. 118.

as 50 per cent were either already gainfully employed or unfit for work;<sup>33</sup> thus, from the beginning the success of the whole measure was jeopardized. Authorities in the countries now occupied do not dare oppose the Germans the way the Belgians did, but in the Netherlands patriots have struck at "documentary nerve centers" to hamper the enemy-controlled machinery in carrying out the conscription of labor. According to a recent report, on March 27, 1943, persons "disguised in police uniforms" destroyed the Bureau of Vital Statistics in Amsterdam and with it population registers and other records of the greatest importance. The archives of the headquarters of the German-sponsored Netherlands Labor Service at Heide Park, near Doorn, suffered the same fate.<sup>34</sup>

To what extent a regime of occupation must interest itself in the records, even if not attempting to run the country through machinery of its own, is further illustrated by American experience. During the brief period of outright occupation of Spanish possessions preceding the Treaty of Paris of 1898 the practice was followed of replacing the heads of agencies by American officers but of continuing all other Spanish officials willing to serve. Many of them, however, sailed for home after destroying or removing part of their archives "with the deliberate purpose of preventing the Americans from finding upon their occupation any important documents."<sup>35</sup> The records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs reveal many relevant cases of this kind. In Cuba, for example, administration of the mines proved "an entangled legacy" to be "unraveled with great labor, time and expenses," because the general register of the mines had disappeared, and without this book no exact idea of the mineral richness of the country could be obtained, nor was it possible to determine with accuracy the legal standing of each mine. The consequences were reported to be "truly lamentable."<sup>36</sup>

The role of records becomes vastly more important if the invader must take over the entire burden of government because the native authorities have fled. In that case the effectiveness of his rule will depend on his experience in administration and especially in military administration, his command of

<sup>33</sup> Winterfeld, in Schwarte, ed., *Der Grosse Krieg*, X, 36.

<sup>34</sup> *Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 28, 1943; *Netherlands News*, VI, no. 2 (Mar. 11-25, 1943), p. 54, and no. 3 (Mar. 26-Apr. 10, 1943), p. 86. In May population registers were destroyed in the town halls of different Dutch cities (*ibid.*, no. 7).

<sup>35</sup> Report of Vidal Morales, chief of the General Archives of Cuba, Nov. 15, 1900, file 1822-1900 of the records of the Office of the Military Governor, U. S. Military Government of Cuba, in the National Archives. See also David Y. Thomas, *A History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States* (New York, 1904), pp. 296-97, and Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government: A Study in Tropical Democracy* (Indianapolis [1917]), p. 430.

<sup>36</sup> *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke*, U. S. Army, Military Governor, Island of Cuba (Washington, 1900), p. 283.



languages, the greater or lesser complexity of the economic and social structure of the occupied country, and, finally, on his ability to get at and skillfully to use the records of the former government. All these factors contributed toward making the Austrian military government of Serbia in 1916-18 a noteworthy success. Some of the country reconquered from the Turks, the so-called military frontier, had been under military rule until 1881 and had served as a first-rate school of military government for the army; many officers and officials of the Habsburg monarchy spoke the languages of the Slavic peoples; Serbia, the country to be administered, was almost exclusively agricultural in character; and, last but not least, clever use was made of archives left behind by the fleeing Serbians. At the beginning of occupation an Austrian commission, headed by Colonel Hugo Kerchnawe, had taken charge of all non-evacuated archives, and when, in July, 1916, the same Kerchnawe became chief of staff to the governor, he was fully informed on the archival material available for the administration and exploitation of the country.<sup>37</sup> Thus, to take mining as an example again, the archives of the Bureau of Mines were diligently and successfully used to determine what war-essential minerals could be obtained from Serbian mines, regardless of whether the mines had been recently exploited or abandoned for years because of unproductiveness.<sup>38</sup>

The great importance of the records becomes fully evident if, where the native authorities have fled or offer passive resistance, their archives, too, are unavailable to the invader. Confronted with the task of administering a technologically advanced area and stirred by the desire or necessity of exploiting it, he finds himself in serious difficulty. On January 10, 1923, France and Belgium announced that they would send into the Ruhr district a commission of engineers to supervise the Rheno-Westfalian Coal Trust, which was to have access to mines and factories as well as to statistics, accounts, and records. Late in the evening of January 9 the leading men of the mining industry, Kirdorff, Thyssen, Stinnes, and others, assembled in Düsseldorf, the administrative capital of the industry, and the first defensive step on which they decided was to send the trust's archives to Hamburg and to have them followed by the staff.<sup>39</sup> Of the great difficulties with which the Inter-Allied Commission was faced as a result of this measure, there cannot be the slightest doubt. State and municipal authorities, too, as part of their policy of

<sup>37</sup> Hugo Kerchnawe and others, *Die Militärverwaltung in den von den österreichisch-ungarischen Truppen besetzten Gebieten* (Wien and New Haven [1928]), pp. 68-69. (*Economic and Social History, Österreichische und Ungarische Serie.*)

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>39</sup> Paul Wentzke, *Ruhrkampf; Einbruch, und Abwehr im rheinisch-westfälischen Industriegebiet*, I (Berlin, 1930), 177.



non-co-operation, developed a clever technique of hiding and removing their records.<sup>40</sup> So obvious became the role of records in a highly complex and industrialized society that, in one case at least, the commission tried its hands at the same game. To arouse the population of Bochum against the city authorities it deprived them of their offices and records, hoping that the citizens would hold the authorities responsible for the ensuing hardships.<sup>41</sup>

As pointed out, even where native agencies continue to function, certain sectors of the administration of occupied territory, such as policing it, controlling and perfecting the transportation system, and granting passports, the invader will consider so important for his safety that he will entrust them only to his own agencies; and these, accordingly, will not only use but also produce records. In Memphis, Tennessee, during the Civil War, for instance, "an extensive system of registration was enforced,"<sup>42</sup> and in German-occupied Belgium during World War I lists of all male inhabitants of military age were compiled by the authorities. The record-creating activity of the invader naturally assumes greater proportions as he takes over a greater share in the administration of the country, especially if he is faced with the lack of appropriate records. In this respect Austrian military government in Serbia may be cited again, because there the extremely record-minded chief of staff inaugurated the collection of vital statistics on a country-wide scale. For, as Kerchnawe in his contribution to the Carnegie *Economic and Social History of the World War* says, "one cannot administer a country unless one knows how to obtain adequate statistical data."<sup>43</sup>

When the military situation changes, however, when the invader feels that the days of his rule are numbered, from being a protector, a user, and a creator of records, he will turn to evacuating or destroying the record of his regime. Beginning on October 11, 1918, the German authorities in Belgium started removing or burning their archives. Only a small part of them was left behind but enough to assist the great scholar Henri Pirenne in writing the history of the occupation and to elicit from him the following expression of admiration: "Examination of their archives shows an order and a system that are superb. One is overwhelmed by the number of specialized folders that have been put at the disposal of the administration, and by the preciseness of the information they contain."<sup>44</sup>

We have followed the archives of an invaded country down to the moment

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83, 231, 241.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>42</sup> Carpenter, "Military Government," American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1900, I, 495.

<sup>43</sup> Kerchnawe, *Die Militärverwaltung*, pp. 70, 83.

<sup>44</sup> Pirenne, *La Belgique*, p. 108.

when the invader's own archives become the source for the history of the invasion. Nothing has been said about the archives of Poland during the second World War, because the abnormal situation created by the Nazis, necessarily reflected in the archival sphere, calls for separate consideration. The regime that has been established in Poland is meant to be its final form of government, not just a temporary military occupation. As a matter of fact, the army does not participate in administering or policing the country, which is left to civilians or SS men (*Schutz-Staffeln*), respectively. All agencies of the "former Polish state" have been abolished, and a Government General of Poland has been established at Cracow to serve as "the organized unit of action that . . . will guarantee in this area the sovereignty of the Fuehrer, and thereby that of the German people, for all times to come."<sup>45</sup> The governor, directly under the Fuehrer, is assisted by two secretaries of state.<sup>46</sup> One of them is the Secretary of State for Public Safety. He is also the proxy of the governor, the Higher SS and Police Leader, and may receive direct orders from the chief of the German police, Heinrich Himmler. A second secretary of state controls the administration of the country through some twelve bureaus and a number of special offices. One of the latter is the Archives Administration of the Government General, headed by Dr. Erich Randt, formerly director of the State Archives at Breslau, a man well read in eastern European history and in full command of the Polish language. His office, successor of the Polish archives administration, supervises the regional archives offices (*Archivämter*) in the five districts into which the country has been divided.<sup>47</sup>

Easily the most important of the regional offices is the Archives Office of the District of Warsaw, which is under the very capable Dr. Erich Weise, an archivist of the Privy State Archives at Berlin. It controls the rich central archives of the state, or what is left of them, for during the siege of the city almost the entire holdings of the Archives of Public Instruction, somewhat less than a third of the contents of the Archives of Finance, and the greater part of the records of the Statistical Office were destroyed. The bulk of the records of the Foreign Office was set afire or evacuated by the Poles, and after the fall of Warsaw, all the military records of the Polish state were

<sup>45</sup> Governor General Hans Frank in his prologue to the first issue (Oct., 1940) of *Die Burg*, a quarterly published by the Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit in Cracow. The institute is destined to be the spiritual backbone of German effort in the Government General ("der gesamten Arbeit der Deutschen im Generalgouvernement den geistigen Rückhalt zu bieten").

<sup>46</sup> The decrees pertaining to the establishment and organization of the Government General are printed in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete* (1939-).

<sup>47</sup> The following discussion is based on Erich Randt, "Die Archive des Generalgouvernements," *Die Burg*, II, no. 1, pp. 25-55 (Jan., 1941) and no. 2, pp. 51-91 (Apr., 1941).

confiscated by the chief of the German Military Archives. Basically intact are the Main Archives of Ancient Documents, now called simply the Main Archives, the Archives of Ancient Documents, now called the Archives of the Interior, and the Archives of Modern Documents. Immediately after the fall of the city, all noncurrent and current documentary materials that were found piled up in gutted and windowless offices were taken into custody and arranged and listed with the co-operation of the Warsaw Archives Office. Those of prospective use to the Government General were sent to Cracow; those apparently inactive were concentrated and set up as the Modern Archives, and with them were merged some eight thousand bundles of the former Archives of Modern Documents.

The state archives in the provinces and local, semi-public, and private archives are controlled by the archives office of the district in which they are located. Many of the state archives, central as well as provincial, can boast extensive and valuable accessions, since not only state agencies but also cultural and educational institutions, such as the Academy of Sciences, universities, and schools of agriculture, commerce, and mining, have been abolished and their records have been confiscated. Some archives of ecclesiastical authorities and noble families have met the same fate. Taking in such archives did not create a housing problem because the very process of liquidation made office and stack space available for archival purposes. Thus, by the simple means of suppressing the Warsaw School of Business Administration, the Modern Archives could be conveniently accommodated, and the old National Museum now affords quarters for the remnants of the Archives of Finance. A truly ingenious solution! Attention has been given, of course, to recovering records that might have been retained by former civil servants and other employees. In accordance with a decree of January 17, 1940, they must deliver all records and other property of the former state and of organizations and institutions or face unlimited prison terms and fines.

The German Archives Administration, finally, has not overlooked the task of collecting non-archival material relating to the war. A decree of May 28, 1940, stated that "the historical importance of the German constructive work in the East requires that . . . the documents that accompany the events be carefully preserved and collected as the permanent witnesses of German cultural planning and creating." All German authorities in Poland have been ordered, therefore, to send eight samples of printed documents, proclamations, posters, drawings, still pictures, and so on, to the Archives Administration in Cracow.

It is obvious that in administering the Polish archives the Germans have

gone considerably beyond what has been considered legitimate on the part of an invader. They have established the tightest, most thoroughly organized, and most active system of protection and utilization of records of which we know. That they have done it is evidence of the importance they assign to records in their regime, and those who want to destroy it may do well to heed a lesson that is taught by old hands at the game.

# The Rise of the Junkers in Brandenburg-Prussia, 1410–1563

## Part II

HANS ROSENBERG\*

### IV

THE profound changes in the distribution of landed wealth and of political, jurisdictional, and administrative power which had shattered the colonial institutions of East Elbian frontier society made possible the extensive growth and qualitative transformation of large-scale farm enterprises of the type called *Gutsherrschaft*. This transformation embodied the story of the rise of the Junkers as producing capitalist entrepreneurs and of the gradual deterioration of the legal, economic, and social status of the vast majority of the peasant population. The early economic history of East Elbian *Gutsherrschaft* is still to be written. It is well known only in its legal aspects. The problem of the origins of *Gutsherrschaft*, however, which for a long time was neglected under the authoritative influence of G. F. Knapp, is no longer in the dark. Knapp's oversimplified formula of the "knight turning into an agriculturist" after the fifteenth century as a result of the changing mode of warfare must be largely discarded.<sup>44</sup> In reality there never was in the history

\*Part I appears on pages 1–22 of the October, 1943, *Review*.

<sup>44</sup> Georg F. Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Teilen Preussens* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1887), complemented by *Die Landarbeiter in Knechtschaft und Freiheit* (Leipzig, 1891) and *Grundherrschaft und Rittergut* (Leipzig, 1897). Though Knapp's *Bauernbefreiung* is a classic and as to fundamentals still unsurpassed in the analysis of eighteenth and early nineteenth century developments, his theory of the origins of *Gutsherrschaft* has proved untenable in several major points. First, *Gutsherrschaft* did not originate with the fifteenth century but with German eastward colonization. Second, demesne cultivation on a large scale, previous to the fifteenth century, was not confined to production for domestic use but was already organized as a commercial concern of a distinctly capitalist character. Third, the quantitative expansion of *Gutsherrschaft* throughout its early history did not depend primarily on the methodical pursuit of the policy of dispossessing peasant owners and tenants but on factors to be stated later in the text. As to further details see, for the Mark of Brandenburg, Friedrich Grossmann, *Ueber die gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Rechtsverhältnisse in der Mark Brandenburg* (Leipzig, 1890); for Prussia, Arthur Kern, "Beiträge zur Agrargeschichte Ostpreussens," *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, XIV (1901), 151–258, and Hans Plehn, "Zur Geschichte der Agrarverfassung von Ost- und Westpreussen," *ibid.*, XVII (1904), 383–466; XVIII (1905), 61–122; Gustav Aubin, *Zur Geschichte des gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisses in Ostpreussen* (Leipzig, 1910); for Pomerania, Carl J. Fuchs, *Der Untergang des Bauernstandes und das Aufkommen der Gutsherrschaften* (Strassburg, 1888), and Martin Spahn, *Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Herzogtums Pommern von 1478 bis 1625* (Leipzig, 1896); for Silesia, Günter Dessmann, *Geschichte der Schlesischen Agrarverfassung* (Strassburg, 1904), and Hermann Aubin, ed., *Geschichte Schlesiens*, I (Breslau, 1938), 335–71, especially pp. 351 ff. and 367 ff. Some of these studies are written by pupils of Knapp and in regard to the question of origins are to be used with great caution.

of German eastward expansion an era of large-scale proprietor cultivation (*Gutsherrschaft*) which replaced the old rental system (*Grundherrschaft*).<sup>45</sup> Though outside of Prussia the rentier prevailed over the entrepreneur in the early period, *Gutsherrschaft* was always there.<sup>46</sup> What actually changed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was merely the quantitative scope of demesne farming and some of the qualitative features of entrepreneurial organization, affecting cultivation and marketing methods and the labor system. Moreover, it should be noted that *Gutsherrschaft* never became on eastern soil a universally entrenched institution. In the ecclesiastical state of Ermeland, for example, which retained its independence until 1772, it did not make any headway.

In the dominions of the Teutonic Order the Junker squire functioned from the outset not so much as a leisured rentier but as a working entrepreneur. He was forced to earn his living by organizing demesne farming, since he was cut off from court service and outside the purely local sphere had no place in territorial "public" administration. His military obligations were moderate and, moreover, in many instances had been commuted long before the fifteenth century. Until then, in contrast to Brandenburg, the career of robber baron was also closed to him, for the Order did not tolerate feuds and bandits. The dues and fees the squire was able to collect from those living under his jurisdiction, usually small in numbers, were too inadequate to guarantee his maintenance, while the wastefulness and inflexibility of the accustomed cultivation methods made it inadvisable to rent out the demesne in small parcels. His labor force consisted chiefly of conscripted serfs recruited from the subjugated native peasantry. The scarcity and low efficiency of forced labor, which in the course of advancing colonization was often supplemented or even replaced by hired free labor, the lack of capital for elaborate improvements, and the restricted marketing opportunities resulting from the monopolistic trading practices of the Order combined to foster only a superficial utilization of the demesne. Its farming tended to be

<sup>45</sup> It is unfortunate that even the *Cambridge Economic History*, I (1942), 499, which merely touches on the emergence of *Gutsherrschaft*, states the problem in this misleading and thoroughly antiquated fashion: "The great estate, instead of dissolving, is consolidated: the lord's rights of ownership are strengthened; the tenants are dispossessed (*Bauernlegen*). It was in this way that in Eastern Germany and in Poland, good corn-growing countries, the *Gutsherrschaft* replaced the old *Grundherrschaft*." The only up-to-date though brief comment, apparently based on G. Aubin, available in English is to be found in Eileen Power's superb essay on "Peasant Life and Rural Conditions (1100-1500)," *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, 734 ff. Guy Stanton Ford, *Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia* (Princeton, 1922), pp. 163-98, is concerned with later developments.

<sup>46</sup> Grossmann, p. 10; Fuchs, p. 45. In the New Mark in 1319, for instance, the demesne enterprises of the Junkers covered one seventh of the total soil under cultivation, the domain of the Junkers, four sevenths. See August Skalweit, "Gutsherrschaft und Landarbeiter in Ostdeutschland," *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, XXXV (1911), 1342.

confined to the raising of grain for domestic use and to extensive animal cultivation for sale. Enterprises operated by a standing labor force with equipment and draft animals belonging to the owner of the demesne were far from rare in both Prussia and the German parts of Silesia. In Brandenburg and Pomerania, likewise, long before the fifteenth century large-scale production of grain and wool for export on Junker estates, with the help of small tenants and landless men functioning as hired laborers, was a well-known phenomenon.

The system of concentrating the economic control and the management of the whole estate in the hands of the owner, the shift of emphasis from the collection of rents to consolidated demesne farming on a much more considerable scale than was common before the fifteenth century, the more methodical raising of money crops, and their marketing by the owner-producer, who more and more dispensed with the services and charges of middlemen, were the gradual outgrowth of economic necessity in the individual struggle for survival as much as the response to new opportunities that developed later. The quantitative expansion and qualitative transformation of *Gutswirtschaft*, i.e., of the culture of the demesne land by the acquisitively minded owner on his own account with the aid of forced or hired labor or both, represented the institutional adjustment, first to the downward and then to the upward trend of the secular economic curve. In the light of the existing objective conditions, remodeled demesne farming and the extension of the arable offered the landlord in possession of jurisdictional rights the most opportune device for escaping the disastrous consequences of the long-run depression prevalent throughout the larger part of the fifteenth century. The era of the Price Revolution, on the other hand, witnessed a sharp increase in the economic rent of the soil and held out the incentive of prosperity to agricultural producers, ready to adopt more rigid forms of exploitation. It called for an economic behavior which made it appear advisable to most Junker landowners to continue to contract as rentiers and to expand as entrepreneurs.

In the fifteenth century the central economic factor facing the rent-receiving landlord and the managing estate proprietor (*Gutsherr*) was the abundance of land and the scarcity of labor. The transformation of public domains and church and burgher estates into Junker possessions to the extent that it took place during that century ordinarily meant not the displacement of the cultivators but merely a change in masters, affecting legal rights rather than economic status. The bloody and destructive wars of that century, however, resulted in a sharp decline of the rural population, which was intensified by



emigration to the cities or to other territories. Devastation of war had greatly reduced the number of rent-paying peasant holdings under cultivation. The *Grundherr* suffered additional hardships through the depreciation of the real value of money rents and customary dues, most strongly marked in Prussia in consequence of the currency inflation. The cultivation of public and private demesnes, now often enlarged by peasant holdings that had become vacant, suffered from the shortage of available native serf labor and the scarcity as well as the rising price of hired free labor. After the prohibition in 1496 of the seasonal migration of Polish farm hands, a measure sponsored by the grain-exporting Polish nobility, the labor situation became even more acute.

The Teutonic Order had tried to safeguard its diversified economic interests through the employment of various protective devices. From 1417 onward mandatory maximum wage rates for farm workers were repeatedly fixed by legislative ordinance to keep down production costs and to prevent the hoarding of laborers. This was merely the beginning of adjustment of domestic to an ill-fated foreign policy. The ensuing long campaign for increased public taxation led to far-reaching political concessions to the rising Prussian estates. The methodical attack on fixed money rents weakened social ties and the respect for customary law. In defense of its interests both as rentier and commercial producer, by 1427 the Order also began to resort to measures designed to restrict the freedom of movement of landholding peasants and of landless agricultural workers and to extend the exaction of obligatory labor services. The increase in labor obligations affected not merely the native serfs but also the Prussian freemen and the German peasants, whose duty to perform *corvée* in the service of the state heretofore had been kept within narrow limits. The same tendency toward undermining the traditional status and the tenure of the peasant class asserted itself in Bohemia and Silesia under the impact of the Hussite wars, which by 1430 reacted on Brandenburg. It also was powerful in Poland, where the country squires in exploiting the political and fiscal difficulties of the crown developed a model which found widespread imitation among the Junkers of East Elbia.

In the fifteenth century land was seeking cultivators rather than cultivators seeking land. For expanding or newly established demesnes laborers, draft animals, and equipment had to be found. Many of the newly acquired estates added new blood to the entrepreneurial personnel and stimulated innovations in farm management. In the given economic and political circumstances the utilization of "public" rights in the service of private acquisition appeared to the Junkers the cheapest and easiest solution. The problem was to turn to good account the political power and the jurisdictional

and administrative privileges that had been and were being accumulated by the landlord class. The legislative enactments from the fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century which regulated the legal, economic, and social status of the peasant class were part of the price paid by territorial rulers for the financial support of the Upper Estates. These statutes and concessions did not inaugurate but merely confirmed and consolidated agrarian changes already undergone. No uniform model emerged from this legislation. With reference to both timing and detail it displayed a bewildering hodgepodge of geographical variations. The basic trend, however, was almost everywhere toward lowering the economic and social position of the great majority of the rural masses by restricting their customary rights and by extending old and introducing new servile obligations.

The advance of the Junker as *Gutsherr* largely depended on the use he made of the authority vested in, or usurped by, him in his capacity of *Gerichtsherr*, i.e., of sheriff, police chief, tax collector, magistrate, and church patron. Allegiance and dues owed to the jurisdictional lord furnished the basis for changing the obligations to the landlord. Various groups of landholding tenants were gradually bound to the soil, and their servile obligations, arising from bondage tenure, were increased, either in the form of more flexible rent payments or, much more frequently, of greatly extended compulsory labor service utilized for the exploitation of the demesne. The attack on tenures might lead to the ultimate eviction even of hereditary tenants. This was a frequent occurrence in sixteenth century Brandenburg, where the legislation of 1540, 1550, and 1572 confirmed the Junker's right to the dispossession of peasant tenants (*Bauernlegen*) against the protests of the towns. But jurisdictional lordship (*Gerichtsherrschaft*) also often facilitated the development of *Leibherrschaft* by transforming the subjects of the jurisdictional lord into hereditary serfs by personal status, bound to him in the capacity of a body-lord. He might use landless bondsmen who had lost the right of appeal to his jurisdiction as the nucleus of a permanent labor force used for the operation of *Gutswirtschaft*, which did not coincide with *Gutsherrschaft* in its more fully developed form, i.e., the sum total of all rights over the inhabitants of the jurisdictional district (*Gutsbezirk*), of which the demesne farm (*Gut*), functioning as commercialized enterprise (*Gutswirtschaft*), formed the physical center. Or he might add to the obligations attached to servile land others arising from servile personal status and thus make the bond-tenant of the landlord also a subject bondsman of the body-lord. The right to the compulsory service of the offspring of bondsmen, whether they were landless laborers or tenants, was legally acknowledged in

East Prussia by 1577, at a time when the practice corresponding to the codified right was already widespread in Brandenburg. Only in the Old Mark west of the Elbe did forced domestic service (*Gesindezwangsdienst*) not constitute before the Thirty Years' War a legal privilege of the Junker class.

The extension and progressive reorganization of *Gutsherrschaft* during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with its emphasis on large-scale production of grains and other money crops like hemp and flax, primarily for export, received its major economic impetus from the drastic change in the concurrent movement of economic values and price relationships. *Gutsherrschaft*, organized by express design as a commercial enterprise and managed in a fashion which effectively used land and people as capital, was the Junker's answer to the Price Revolution. Interrupted but not broken by short-run fluctuations,<sup>47</sup> the secular price rise remained operative until the Thirty Years' War. As in western Europe the second half of the sixteenth century witnessed the most intense and most important price increases.<sup>48</sup> During this period the price of rye, measured in silver, increased by 247 per cent; of barley, by 187 per cent; of oats, by 185 per cent; of firewood, by 247 per cent; while other foodstuffs and animal products rose more slowly in value and the wages of unskilled day laborers by only 86 per cent.<sup>49</sup>

The upswing in prices coincided with a sharp increase in the demand of western Europe for the agricultural produce of the east. The internal conditions of East Elbia also favored agricultural expansion under the leadership of the Junkers. The absence of major wars from the early sixteenth century to 1620, in conjunction with the growth of population, prevented serious ruptures in production, trade, and the available labor supply. The monopoly of political and administrative power by the squire class meant the Junkers' control over economic policy. Above all, it guaranteed a steady and docile labor force, "educated" by pastors who were the Junkers' appointees. A long period of peasant unrest had come to an end with the crushing defeat suffered by the rebellious Prussian peasants in the uprising of 1525.<sup>50</sup>

With respect to both the rate of expansion and the profitability of

<sup>47</sup> For statistical details see *Acta Borussica, Getreidehandelspolitik*, I (1896), 368; Julian Pelc, *Ceny W Gdańsku W XVI i XVII Wieku* [prices in Danzig in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] (Lwów, 1937), pp. 47-50.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136; S. Hoszowski, *Ceny We Lwowie W XVI i XVII Wieku* (Lwów, 1928), pp. 283, 320 f.

<sup>49</sup> Pelc, pp. 169 f. For that period prices in Danzig furnish the best barometer for the measurement of the trend, since the largest quantities of grain imports from all eastern surplus areas were collected and traded there. Within the realm of the Baltic grain trade Danzig's position was similar to that held by London in the world's wheat trade of the nineteenth century, with the London price coming nearest to the theoretical norm.

<sup>50</sup> G. Aubin, pp. 126 ff.

capitalist agricultural production the eastern Price Revolution was a golden age. It greatly accelerated the shift in the balance of the economic classes. While the great majority of the townsmen and peasants were adversely affected and grew poorer, the landowning agricultural entrepreneur moved upward, especially if successful in increasing profit margins through personal control over the marketing of his produce and in supplementing income derived from agricultural activity by other types of enterprise. In the midst of frequent ups and downs in the economic destinies of individual families this period witnessed the creation of considerable Junker fortunes which were primarily derived from the more businesslike exploitation of landed resources and used for consumption as much as for speculative and productive investments. Agricultural prosperity as the base of capital accumulation encouraged the extension of area under cultivation by attacking the waste, seizing the commons, and clearing woodlands. It also stimulated the acquisition of additional peasant holdings and larger estates, either by purchase<sup>51</sup> or by arbitrary action, or, more indirectly, through the channels of moneylending and public officeholding.

The Baltic trade in grain, timber, hemp, flax, wool, cattle, tar, and potash, facilitated by the wealth of water communications in and near the producing areas, had assumed significance from the thirteenth century onward. In competition with the inland and coastal towns belonging to the Hanseatic League, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Teutonic Order had systematically organized the wholesale export of grain and timber from territories east of the Elbe to the Scandinavian countries, England, Flanders, Holland, and France.<sup>52</sup> For its sales in the interior and overseas the Order depended not so much on the production from its demesnes but on the grain collected as rents and dues from the peasantry, primarily in the more developed western territories. The Order also bought up Polish grain for resale and indulged in a profitable trade with the surplus produce of the German peasants by forcing them to sell to the agencies of the Order at prices fixed below those offered by the native merchants. Rationally calculated acquisitiveness governed the trade policy of the Order, which methodically followed the course of buying and storing up grain in years with abundant crops and of selling at a high price in time of scarcity. Finally the Order inaugurated the

<sup>51</sup> In the Middle Mark, for instance, during the half century that preceded the Thirty Years' War, the demesnes *within* the area of the peasant villages increased from 3,228 to 4,791 *Hufen* through the purchase of the landholdings of almost 5 per cent of the peasant population. See Grossmann, p. 28.

<sup>52</sup> *Acta Borussica, Getreidehandelspolitik*, I, 207-312; Heinrich Bechtel, *Wirtschaftsstil des deutschen Spätmittelalters* (Munich and Leipzig, 1930), pp. 95 ff., 154 ff., 266; Leon Koczy, *The Baltic Policy of the Teutonic Order* (Toruń, 1936), pp. 72 f.

method of dealing directly with foreign merchants. But when the forces of dissolution grew strong, when long-term commercial contraction under the impact of war and of the shift in landownership and political power altered the balance of commercial relationships, it was the Junker class which gradually fell heir to the economic position of the Teutonic Knights. From the fifteenth century onward the Junkers' unyielding insistence on the right to free trade in grain, foodstuffs, and agricultural raw materials, even in years of deficient output, reappeared with repetitious monotony at the top of the list of economic "grievances" drawn up by the Upper Estates against the vigorous opposition of the towns fighting for their self-preservation.

In West Prussia, where the mediation of the local merchants had been largely eliminated, the Junker found himself compelled to submit to the leadership of the powerful export and import merchants of Danzig, who, annoyed by the trading practices of the Order, had led the rebellion against its rule in the Thirteen Years' War of 1454-66. The second Peace of Thorn had given Danzig, the largest port and the richest and most cultural city on the shores of the Baltic, control over the rapidly expanding overseas trade of Poland, by prohibiting agreements between Polish producers and foreign buyers except through the agency of a Danzig citizen.<sup>53</sup> But it was Amsterdam which, having gradually concentrated the transit trade of eastern grain, got the lion's share of the profit. After the 1550's eastern grain found its chief ultimate buyer no longer in western Europe but in Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

Emancipation from the commercial and financial tutelage of the native merchants and the establishment of a direct contact between the exporting Junker producer and the foreign merchant-buyer were clearly marked tendencies in East Elbia during the fifteenth century.<sup>54</sup> Merchants from Hamburg and Stettin appeared more and more frequently in person on the Junker estates in Brandenburg and Pomerania, and Dutch and English traders traveled far into the interior of Prussia. By guaranteeing ultimate sale to the producers, by buying up crops before they were harvested, and by making monetary advances foreign merchants furnished a great incentive to the expansion of commercial agricultural production.<sup>55</sup> Under their leadership the economic penetration and mobilization of the interior in the service of international trade was further enhanced by applying the "Putting-out

<sup>53</sup> Franciszek Bujak, *Poland's Economic Development* (London, 1926), pp. 21 ff.; Jan Rutkowski, *Histoire économique de la Pologne avant les partages* (Paris, 1927), pp. 192 f.

<sup>54</sup> *Acta Borussica, Handels-, Zoll- und Ackersepolitik*, I (1911), 4 f.

<sup>55</sup> *Acta Borussica, Getreidehandelspolitik*, II, 42, 68; G. Aubin, pp. 56 ff. There are indications that from the latter part of the sixteenth century in consequence of this relationship the profit margins of the eastern producers began to contract. The advance of the merchant-buyers at the expense of the producers became quite definite by the middle of the seventeenth century.

System" to the employment of factors recruited from depressed native traders who had lost their economic independence. Junker entrepreneurs responded to the long-run increase in foreign demand not merely by expanding production for sale on their estates. They systematically bought up at retail the surplus of peasant producers in order to sell at wholesale at a profit. This was done in constant violation of town privileges and legislative ordinances designed to maintain a workable equilibrium in the interior trade between town and village through a complex network of local and territorial regulations. And in the endeavor to enforce better prices and to cut down on transportation costs and the charges of middlemen the squires sometimes, at their own risk and under their personal direction, shipped grain, timber, and cattle by land, river, lake, or sea to far-distant points.<sup>56</sup>

The range of the Junker's entrepreneurial activity widened during the sixteenth century with the assault on the industrial production and trading monopolies of the cities. Unremitting attempts on the part of the towns to obtain and enforce the legal prohibition of trading in the rural districts and of the brewing and sale of beer outside the markets of the town met with the effective sabotage of the Junker. It was he who encouraged or initiated the development of rural handicrafts, went ahead with the commercialized production of beer, and as a buyer of manufactured articles of foreign origin established direct relations with the importing merchant or his factor. The emergence of the Junker as a trader, a smuggler, and an industrialist definitely smashed the traditional balance between town and countryside. The Junker's transformation into a versatile and peace-loving businessman speeded up the industrial and commercial decline of the cities which had begun in the interior during the fifteenth century and subsequently spread to most of the sea towns, at least in the form of a profit deflation. Internally disrupted by the antagonism of interests between consumers, local retailers, and wholesale exporters and importers, the cities were gradually compelled to reduce their activities in the battle for economic domination to skirmishes, rearguard actions, and attrition.

## V

The long-run depression from 1618 to 1650, interrupted by intermittent spells of recovery, terminated the era of profitable agricultural expansion and

<sup>56</sup> Spahn, pp. 164 f.; G. Aubin, p. 63; Fritz Kaphahn, *Die wirtschaftlichen Folgen des dreissigjährigen Krieges für die Altmark* (Gotha, 1911), pp. 6 f. Rarer, but not at all unique, was the practice of Heinrich von Brösicke and of other squires with liquid assets of making the extension or the renewal of a money loan contingent on the borrower's willingness to buy at least part of the lender's grain output at a price decidedly higher than the current market rate. For illustrations see Hugo Rachel, Johannes Papritz, and Paul Wallich, *Berliner Gross Kaufleute und Kapitalisten*, I (Berlin, 1934), 182.



checked the Junker's entrepreneurial career, which was not to be resumed on a grand scale before the middle of the eighteenth century. Unleashed by the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the reverse set in with the currency debasement and price inflation which swept over the whole of Germany, Austria, and Poland from 1618 to 1623.<sup>57</sup> In Brandenburg commodity prices had jumped by 500 per cent by 1623, when the policy of devaluation adopted by the Elector led to the stabilization of the currency on the base of the silver value of 1603. Out of the dislocation generated by the turmoil in economic values came the collapse of the complex credit structure which rested, in the main, on the preceding secular process of public credit inflation.<sup>58</sup>

The breakdown of the interdependent public and private credit mechanism manifested itself in a long, drawn-out series of liquidations and devaluations which strongly affected members of the Junker class. Far more than any other group the Junkers were hit by the default in 1623 of the financial institutions of the estates which had come into existence by funding the larger part of the debts contracted and used for unproductive purposes by the Hohenzollerns. On the domestic capital market the loans floated by the estates had furnished the main field for the safe investment of liquid assets on a long-term basis at fixed interest paid out of public taxes.<sup>59</sup> While some of the Junkers had to think of safeguarding merely their creditor or their debtor interests, those who found themselves entangled in a bewildering mixture of both were far more numerous. This situation explains their diverse response to the territorial legislation of 1630, 1634, 1636, and 1643, which provided for a moratorium affecting both interest and principal, and it accounts for the heated controversies about the compulsory reduction of interest rates on all debts and the partial cancellation of the obligations. Private indebtedness had grown by leaps and bounds, side by side with public indebtedness, including the liabilities of the municipalities. Among the creditors of the towns were many noblemen. Furthermore, innumerable individual

<sup>57</sup> Moritz J. Elsas, *Umriss einer Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Deutschland*, I (Leiden, 1936), 18 f., 114 f., 191; Alfred F. Pribram, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Oesterreich*, I (Vienna, 1938), 25, 39 f.; Rutkowski, pp. 204 f.

<sup>58</sup> H. Opel, "Deutsche Finanznot beim Beginn des dreissigjährigen Krieges," *Historische Zeitschrift*, XVI (1866), 213-68; Kurt Breysig, in *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, XVI (1892), 464; Eberhard Gothein, *Die deutschen Kreditverhältnisse und der dreissigjährige Krieg* (Leipzig, 1893); Kaphahn, *op. cit.*; Rachel, Papritz, and Wallich, I, 379-91.

<sup>59</sup> The Junkers, in large or small amounts, had not merely subscribed to the capital issues of the *Ritterschaftskassen*. They had also invested considerable sums in the *Städtekassen*. That of the Old Mark and Priegnitz alone owed by 1620 more than 400,000 tlr to members of the nobility. The leading individual creditors were Georg v. Schulenburg, with 57,800 tlr; Thomas v.d. Knesebeck, with 40,250 tlr; Philipp v. Quitzow, with 34,000 tlr; and Joachim v. Alvensleben, with 28,525 tlr. Among the creditors were also peasants with individual claims up to 1,000 tlr, which shows that the economic deterioration of the peasants was far from being a universal phenomenon. See Kaphahn, pp. 24 f.



deals, big and small, had established the Junkers as creditors and debtors of burgesses, while they were at the same time involved in an interdependent network of claims and obligations within their own ranks.<sup>60</sup> The flourishing speculative trade in land and estates had largely rested on credit. Without the "freezing of debts," bankruptcies and forced sales would have been far more numerous than they actually were during the thirties and forties.<sup>61</sup>

The collapse of the East Elbian credit economy belonged to the concluding phases of a long-term process of credit deflation which was the functional economic reaction to the half century of continuous public credit expansion which had financed the international revolt against the preponderance of the Spanish Habsburgs. The default of the Spanish and French crowns initiated the break in the secular trend which set in with the acute crisis of 1557-59. The subsequent resumption of speculative lending proceeded in waves and generated recurrent breakdowns and panics which gradually crushed many of the leading business firms of southern Germany and northern Italy, created havoc among their depositors, and ultimately affected the whole economic and political balance of power in Europe.<sup>62</sup>

Northeastern Germany, through painful liquidations and adjustments, was forced to find its place in the "New Order" of international power politics when it became the base of operations for the forces striving for the domination of the Baltic Sea in the Thirty Years' War. The currency and credit crises were merely the introductory chapter to a long story of economic maladjustments which completely altered traditional ratios between costs and profit margins and the supply and demand of economic commodities and services. Chronic disequilibrium resulted from war taxation, physical devastation, and the dislocation of production and trade, aggravated by the requisitioning of provisions, by looting and extortions, by dumping sales in competition with the booming trade in war booty which often consisted of grain and cattle, and by depopulation due to an increasing death rate and widespread emigration from areas that had become theaters of war or camping grounds of marauding troops.

The overseas trade in grain which, more than any other branch of East

<sup>60</sup> Numerous illustrations in Rachel, Papritz, and Wallich, I.

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, *Codex Diplomaticus Alvenslebenianus*, ed. Georg A. v. Mülverstedt, III (1879), 560 f., 563 f.

<sup>62</sup> See Richard Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger*, II (3rd ed., Jena, 1922), 154-217; Henri Hauser, "European Financial Crisis of 1559," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II (1929), 241-55; *id.*, *Les origines historiques des problèmes économiques actuels* (Paris, 1930), pp. 91-104; *id.*, "La crise de 1557-1559 et le bouleversement des fortunes," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Abel LeFranc* (Paris, 1936), pp. 307-19; Roger Doucet, "Le Grand Parti de Lyon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue historique*, CLXXI (1933), 473-513; CLXXII (1933), 1-41; Jacob Strieder, in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, LV (1935), 329 ff.

Elbian economy, had determined the economic fortunes of the Junkers was severely affected by adversity. For the duration of the Thirty Years' War the Baltic trade remained in a state of complete disruption and subject to violent fluctuations in price and volume.<sup>63</sup> The exporting grain producers of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and East Prussia felt the great depression of the twenties in Holland, England, France, and Spain as much as the greatly intensified Polish competition. They and the merchants of the sea towns paid the price for the blockade measures and export prohibitions which prevailed while imperial troops under Wallenstein held the crucial coastal areas. They saw themselves condemned to the payment of heavy tribute to the Swedes, who used the imposition of exorbitantly high duties on grain as a major device to finance the war, while they were in full control of the ports and of a considerable part of the interior during the twenties and the first half of the thirties.<sup>64</sup>

Cut-throat competition among the large grain producers and long-run contraction of the volume of grain exports continued throughout the reign of the Great Elector.<sup>65</sup> The decline of Polish competition after the early 1650's, resulting from the Swedish-Polish War and the Tartar invasions, was more than offset by the shrinkage of western European demand and the emergence of Russia as an exporter of agricultural products. The stepping-up of the attack on the peasant population was the Junker's chief answer to the new market constellation, the depletion of the labor supply, the widespread desertion of the land, and the crystallization of a new price level, marked by low prices for agricultural commodities and land, rising real wages, and high production costs. The strengthening of the servile elements within the labor force, the increase in *corvées*, the deterioration of peasant tenures, the more systematic pursuit of *Bauernlegen*, which frequently made possible the embezzlement of public taxes levied on peasant holdings, were some of the features which secured for *Gutsherrschaft* a new lease on life. Adjustment in this direction was facilitated by the great compromise of 1653, which laid the definitive foundation for the social and economic structure of the centralized military-bureaucratic state of Brandenburg-Prussia as it was preserved until the early nineteenth century.

In the history of the Junkers the alliance with the Great Elector signified the eclipse of an old era as much as the dawn of a new. The Junkers had risen to a position of economic, social, and political supremacy largely at the expense of the Hohenzollerns, both in Brandenburg and, after 1525,

<sup>63</sup> *Acta Borussica, Getreidehandelspolitik*, I, 352 ff., 368 f., 373; II, 57 f., 63; Pele, pp. 13 f.

<sup>64</sup> *Acta Borussica, Getreidehandelspolitik*, I, 311, 353, 356-59, 371; II, 86.

<sup>65</sup> Statistical details, *ibid.*, II, 75, 77.

in Prussia. Through co-operation with the Hohenzollerns they lost their political independence and supremacy but retained a position of superiority in their native territories and, besides, gained European political significance. The change was ushered in by economic retrogression, military invasions, and dynastic ambitions which asserted themselves by creating the fiction of a permanent state of war. The great showdown between the claims of rising monarchical sovereignty, the centralization of political, military, and administrative power, and the nationalization of "public" functions, on the one hand, and the traditional *de facto* despotism of the Upper Estates, on the other hand, came over the issue of continuous public taxation and the establishment of the standing army.<sup>66</sup>

The diet of 1653, the last general diet which met in Brandenburg, voted an annual military tax (*Kriegsmetze*) of about 75,000 tlr for seven successive years,<sup>67</sup> to be collected from the townsmen and the *Ritterschaft*, i.e., actually the peasants. In the light of both short- and long-run political and social repercussions it would be a tempting task to contrast this first septennate in German political history, which terminated the age of medieval constitutionalism, with the so-called Septennate of 1875 and 1880, which, under Bismarckian auspices, dealt a severe blow to modern constitutionalism. By the grant of 1653 the estates actually renounced their control over public finance, foreign policy, and the instruments of physical might as well as their claim to "represent" the various territories against the ruler. Nevertheless, the settlement of 1653 which furnished the model for the Prussian compromise of 1679-81 did not imply a surrender. The Great Elector got his standing army, his perpetual taxes, and a free hand in the conduct of foreign relations, and the nobleman got his perpetual serf. The price paid by Frederick William was the confirmation of all the basic enactments extorted from his predecessors, which had put the rural masses at the mercy of the Junkers in matters of labor, property rights, justice, taxation, police, and religion. The "Recess" of 1653<sup>68</sup> legalized the transformation of landed estates originally held as fiefs in compensation for military services and colonizing activities (*Rittergüter*) into alodial estates held in absolute ownership. It also acknowledged the principle that, as a rule, only noblemen were to acquire *Rittergüter* and implicitly stabilized their exemption from the payment of taxes. It ratified the "right of the native born" (*Indigenatsrecht*) as well as the squire's

<sup>66</sup> See *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*, X (1887), 169-78; XV (1892), 221 f.

<sup>67</sup> The total sum amounted to 530,000 tlr, not the annual grant, as Otto Hintze, *Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk* (8th ed., Berlin, 1916), p. 205, stated. See Breysig, in *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, XVI (1892), 452.

<sup>68</sup> See *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum*, VI (Berlin, 1751), 427-63.

right to the eviction of peasant tenants. It confirmed the Junkers as the ruling class in local government by sovereign right and commissioned them to serve as the governing class in all matters that concerned the state in its entirety. It kept intact the technique of assessing and collecting public taxes in rural districts and left to the discretion of the nobleman the export of his grain, hemp, hop, and cattle, even in years of scarcity. In its ultimate consequences the compromise of 1653 involved a working alliance between the Hohenzollerns and the nobility which liquidated the political and administrative autonomy of the estates, broke down the Junker's self-satisfied provincial obscurity and pacifist "good neighbor policy," and pushed him into European and international power politics. It opened the avenue to the new career of professional army officer and salaried government employee, which provided social esteem, the right to command in an executive capacity, and economic security. This outlet meant salvation to insolvent Junkers and landless young men of noble birth, and it promised compensation to those squires who saw themselves forced to contract as businessmen.

## VI

Men of action, of vitality, and of physical courage, who valued the tools of might and combined tenacity with adaptability, political acumen with brutality and cruelty, wherever individual or corporate interests were involved, the Junkers in the centuries to come remained inspired by the lust for power rather than by the passion for virtue, wisdom, or beauty. Arrogant and self-centered, they were ready to gamble for high stakes and to meet any onslaught, however formidable, by "getting tough" or, if necessary, by coming to terms with it. Throughout their historical careers as dogged practitioners of *Realpolitik*, they displayed an amazing capacity to endure and to preserve an unbroken record of social experience and political training which enabled them to exercise a profound influence on the social order. Usually inclined to identify national interests with their own, under the impact of counteracting forces they learned to blend a materialistic spirit, which was acquisitive, mercenary, and altogether selfish, with the idea of public service, social responsibility, and patriotic devotion. The influence of the urbane Catholic magnates of Silesia, and of the western and southern German nobility, the influx of a *noblesse de robe*, and the amalgamation with leading families of the new industrial and financial aristocracy made them more suave and softened the edges of their original coarseness. This truly remarkable social group has emerged from all the great economic, social, and political disturbances which have accompanied the making of modern Ger-

many changed in character but rejuvenated and essentially intact as a ruling and governing class.

Confronted with the tottering fabric of political institutions under the control of the estates (*Ständestaat*), the Junkers grudgingly accepted the leadership of the three great Hohenzollerns in the struggle for dynastic glamor and power through territorial unification and aggrandizement. But it was the Junkers who succeeded in transforming the institutions of bureaucratic centralization and of monarchical absolutism and militarism into a social and political system which made them its chief beneficiaries. In the nineteenth century they gradually overcame their original hostility to national unification and constitutional forms of government, as they were finally reconciled to imperialism and *Weltpolitik*. They drove a shrewd bargain with the forces of industrial society and fortified themselves in the age of the masses. They made their peace with liberalism and nationalism, capitalism and socialism alike, making all serviceable to the ultimate end of retaining power, directly or indirectly. They came through the mortal storm of 1806–1807 and reappeared in a stronger position than they held before, both economically and politically. And although they declined in the course of the nineteenth century in entrepreneurial importance, lost the economic leadership of the nation, and as army officers and civil servants were reduced to meager salaries, their political and social pre-eminence remained virtually unimpaired. Their victory in the great national crises of 1848–49, 1862–66, and 1878–79 was all the greater as it led to the voluntary abdication and the moral collapse of their rivals and contestants.

The Junkers outwitted the German liberals and democrats of the nineteenth century. They outwitted the Hohenzollerns in 1918. They outwitted the Allied Powers in 1918 and 1919. They outwitted the Social Democrats and the Weimar Republic. Will they be able to outwit the Nazis? And if so, will they be able to outwit again the German and the non-German enemies of the Nazis?

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## Plans for the Historiography of the United States in World War II

WAR, despite the immediacy of its demands for action, stimulates an awareness of history. The challenge of providing the present generation and posterity with an understanding of the present supreme national crisis confronts not only professional historians but all social scientists, artists, poets, and novelists. For the war is enlarging our folklore as well as our scholarly and scientific knowledge. From the battlefields and from the production lines may come impulses of fateful significance in modifying and enriching those great ideals basic to our democratic institutions.

The records of World War II call for study from the vantage points of social, cultural, political, administrative, economic, intellectual, and military history. Sir John Seeley once stated that political science without history lacks roots and history without political science lacks fruits. This statement may with equal validity be applied to sociology, psychology, economics, and anthropology. The social sciences and history should, of course, join forces in times of peace as well as in times of war; but the possibilities of securing an integrated approach are very much increased in wartime, since war brings closer together the many strands of national activity.

World War II, surpassing all previous wars in scope and in fury, promises also to be the most systematically documented war in history. The motion picture and sound recording, the microfilm camera, together with the usual media of pen and press and typewriter, are leaving us with what threatens to be an embarrassment of historical riches. The immediate double task of preparation is to separate the significant record from the trivial and to supplement the written record with explanatory comments by the participants. The third task is to provide means for the integration of the manifold approaches to the writing of the national history of the war. Work on these tasks has begun both within and without the government.

For the first time during a major crisis the government has made extensive provision for the recording and writing of national war history. A number of people became interested in the history of this government's war agencies at about the same time. Harold Smith, director of the Bureau of

the Budget, had long been interested in the capturing and recording of administrative experience. As members of the Public Administration Committee of the Social Science Research Council he and Louis Brownlow and William Anderson had supported the writing of studies on the Social Security Board, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Works Progress Administration. In August of 1941 Donald Stone, head of the Division of Administrative Management of the Bureau of the Budget, wrote to Kenneth Colegrove and several other political scientists, asking them to suggest someone to do a capture-and-record study of defense organization. Mr. Stone wanted someone to go through the Bureau material, to discuss procedures with staff members, and to prepare background memoranda on administrative developments. Arthur Schlesinger wrote to Archibald MacLeish in September, 1941:

I should like to see a "historian" or "archivist" attached to every important war-time agency, who would not only see to it that the routine records are preserved, but that additional ones are created. This official would make his own memoranda at staff meetings; encourage officials to discuss their problems with him; try to get them to keep a personal journal of their daily doings; and, in general, seek to capture data which might throw light on the behind-the-scenes workings of the organization.

Pendleton Herring of Harvard University was called in to undertake the task of organizing the records of the Bureau of the Budget. This provided him with an excellent opportunity to get in touch with people interested in the same general subject. Guy Stanton Ford and Solon J. Buck performed an invaluable service in bringing together some of those who were interested in war history and administrative problems. At Mr. Ford's invitation a meeting to discuss the formation of a committee on records of war administration was held on February 18, 1942. For the first time those who were most conscious of the need for planning war history met together in Washington. Mr. Smith attended, and the idea was discussed of setting up a unit in the Bureau of the Budget to stimulate interest among war agencies in a full and systematic record of their activities. On March 4, 1942, President Roosevelt asked Mr. Smith to appoint a committee on records of war administration. In his letter the President stated:

I am very much interested in the steps that you have been taking to keep a current record of war administration. I suggest that you carry this program further by covering the field more intensively, drawing on whatever scholarly talent may be necessary.

I wonder if it wouldn't be desirable to appoint a committee on records of war administration, to be composed of representatives of appropriate learned societies and perhaps two or three agencies of the Government which might be interested in such a program.



The present program strengthened in this manner might be helpful to the work of the Bureau of the Budget in planning current improvements in administration in addition to its main objective of preserving for those who come after us an accurate and objective account of our present experience. I hope that officials in war agencies will bear in mind the importance of systematic records, and to the extent commensurate with their heavy duties, cooperate in this undertaking.

All the members of the committee which was appointed possessed a deep personal interest in the undertaking; and this interest, together with the official positions they held, made them particularly effective in bringing the program to the attention of the Federal agencies. The committee members were: chairman, Waldo Leland, of the American Council of Learned Societies; executive secretary, Pendleton Herring; William Anderson, American Political Science Association; Louis Brownlow, American Society for Public Administration; Donald Young, Social Science Research Council; Solon J. Buck, National Archives; Archibald MacLeish, Library of Congress; Arthur Schlesinger and Guy Stanton Ford, American Historical Association. In a press release of March 22, 1942, on the appointment of the committee, Mr. Smith said:

On many occasions we have regretted the inadequacy of the data available concerning administration in World War I. As one consequence, the recollections of some of the chief figures twenty-five years after the event have been a conspicuous source of information. The extent to which the war records are being currently consulted amply demonstrates the pertinence of factual data of the last war for administrative problems today. National Archives has urged that more attention be given to our present records to avoid the document losses of World War I.

The Committee on Records of War Administration has two functions: (1) to stimulate the major war agencies to maintain records of how they are discharging their wartime duties and (2) to advise the special research staff within the Bureau of the Budget in the making of current analyses of administrative problems in major policy fields of the war effort.

The research staff of the Committee on Records of War Administration are attached as a special section to the Division of Administrative Management in the Bureau of the Budget. Without operating responsibilities and acting as observers only, they work closely with the Bureau officials and have full access to all records. Their attention is directed to particular policy areas, such as industrial mobilization, foreign diplomatic and economic operations, information, civilian defense and welfare, labor and manpower, price control and stabilization, finance and taxation, and shipping and transportation. In 1942 their most pressing task was to gather records otherwise unrecoverable and to establish direct contacts with officials in the operating agencies—a task

which required full-time effort. While this records work is, of course, continuous, the staff have recently been able to devote more time to writing. The documents available are especially useful for administrative studies; and, in addition to area or functional analyses, the staff have prepared studies of inter-agency relations, relations between research and operations, the framing and interpretation of executive orders, and Federal-field relations. In some instances comprehensive manuscripts are expected to result, although, in general, it has not been feasible to plan so ambitiously.

The Committee on Records of War Administration has provided staff aid to Fred W. Shipman, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York. Mr. Shipman is now spending most of his time at the White House and endeavoring to complete documentation on important presidential transactions in the war effort. He studies White House files to detect omissions and then seeks out the material to fill in the gaps. He is also writing a report on present administrative procedures in the White House.

The burden of the work of the Committee on Records of War Administration has rested upon the secretary and the staff. Mr. Herring has given his attention primarily to getting various agencies of the government to establish historical units. The following twenty-two war agencies now have such units: Alien Property Custodian, Office of Censorship, Office of Civilian Defense, Committee on Congested Production Areas, Office of Economic Warfare, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Office of Lend-Lease Administration, National Housing Agency, National Research Council, Petroleum Administration for War, Office of Price Administration, Office of Scientific Research and Development, Smaller War Plants Corporation, Office of Strategic Services, Office of War Information, War Labor Board, War Manpower Commission, Office of War Mobilization, War Production Board, and War Relocation Authority.<sup>1</sup> A particular effort was made to interest the emergency agencies, since there is great danger of losses if current efforts are not made to conserve their records in usable form. The permanent agencies, however, have also been encouraged to set up war records projects. The Departments of Agriculture, Navy, Post Office, State, and War and the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Veterans Administration now have historical sections.

The question of where to locate the historical unit in an agency has been answered in a number of ways. The reporter should obviously be close to the officials who are determining policy. This is the arrangement in the Petroleum

<sup>1</sup> Among these agencies the Office of Economic Warfare, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, and Office of Lend-Lease Administration are now part of Foreign Economic Administration.

Administration for War, the Navy, the Post Office, the Office of Price Administration, the Office of Strategic Services, the War Department, and the War Production Board. Another practical consideration is to place the activity in the hands of those who have a genuine interest in it. Thus the historical records program in the Department of Agriculture has been a natural development of the work in the Statistical and Historical Research Division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and, in the State Department, of the Research and Publications Division. The officer in charge of administrative management generally has a good over-all view of the agency; and in the Office of Economic Warfare, the Veterans Administration, and the Office of War Information the history has been placed in his care. The budget officer, who is inevitably in close touch with all the major developments within the agency, has taken charge of the function in the case of the Tennessee Valley Authority. In a few instances the historical records unit has been made part of the public information office, for example: the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the National Housing Agency, and the Smaller War Plants Corporation.

Although all the agency projects have the same ultimate objective, different agencies have approached the work in different ways. In a number of instances the emphasis, thus far at least, has been upon the collection of records. This is true in the work going forward in the Office of Defense Transportation, the Office of War Mobilization, and the War Manpower Commission. In other instances the historical officer has developed reports of current usefulness by bringing together and summarizing pertinent documents relating to some administrative problem and from this material is producing a continuous story. Such current reports have been written in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and in the War Production Board. In its most highly developed form the work is a combination of systematic collection of the important materials dealing with high policy and the writing of first narrative accounts. These first narratives are based not only on the documents which naturally result from day-to-day operations but also on the interviews which the historical officer conducts with leading participants for the particular purpose of amplifying the formal records. Many important actions are never formally recorded; and it is necessary to go behind the orders, the regulations, the minutes, and even the reports of informal meetings. This method of combining writing and interviewing with the collection of documents has been profitably used again and again in the Office of Lend-Lease Administration and in the Department of Agriculture. While these two agencies are outstanding exponents of this method,

it is found in modified form in a number of other agencies. The Office of Economic Warfare has a variation whereby the historian selects a number of significant subjects and asks the operating official most familiar with the subject to write the first account.

The Department of Agriculture has prepared a comprehensive outline reflecting wartime changes in its functions and structure. The central historical file is organized in accordance with this basic outline. The source materials include interviews with key department officials, confidential correspondence, memoranda, notes and minutes of conferences selected from various policy files, quarterly reports of war activities, selected formal memoranda, directives, and reports of field agencies. The outline also serves as a basis for writing first narrative accounts and for evaluating administrative problems. A current account and analysis of the department's numerous reorganizations to keep pace with its greatly enlarged responsibilities, including the establishment of the War Food Administration, is a continuous writing project. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Farm Security Administration, and the Consumers' Counsel have been selected for special reports. The problems of setting and achieving production goals, of securing adequate farm labor, of securing adequate wartime fiber, of the department's relationship to rubber production, and its role in inter-American affairs have been subjects for special reports. Other phases of the department's work in the field of distribution as well as of production will be described. Eventually all of these studies will be interwoven into a first narrative account of the department's adjustments to the impact of war.

The historical project at the War Production Board illustrates an effective combination of functions. There the historical analyst and the archivist work hand in hand. Political scientists and economic historians are at work in the Policy Analysis and Records Branch, which has physical possession of the inactive files, not only of the War Production Board but also of its predecessors—the War Resources Board, the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, the Office of Production Management, and the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board. Material in the files is being carefully sifted. Papers of sufficient significance to require frequent use by present officials of the board and by the historians are put in a separate policy document file, which is a consolidated subject-matter file of all significant documents originated in, or received by, any office of the War Production Board or of its predecessors. The branch as a whole benefits from its location in the office of the executive secretary of the War Production Board. As a result two extremely important active files are also immediately accessible to the analysts: the industry-regulating orders issued by the agency, together with the justifica-

tions and criticisms submitted when such orders were pending, and the minutes and documents of all the important boards and committees within the agency. Another distinguishing feature of the historical project at the War Production Board is the working relation between the operation and the history of the agency. The analysts make a definite effort to deal first with the historical development of policy in areas where there are, or will soon be, current policy problems. In this way it is possible for their studies to contribute to the intelligent formulation of policy by top officials of the board.

The armed services in World War II have been keenly alive to historical requirements and have instituted extensive programs for complete coverage. A historical branch has recently been created in the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department General Staff to co-ordinate and supervise all historical activities, whether of military administration or of combat operations, throughout the War Department and the Army. The chief of this branch is a professional soldier and the chief historian is a professional historian. The two chiefs receive general policy guidance from an advisory committee of civilians and soldiers. The Army Service Forces, Air Forces, and Ground Forces, as well as many of their respective subordinate units, also have historical sections; and similar sections are being set up overseas in the several theaters of operations. The functions of all of these historical sections are to locate, preserve, and process source materials and to compile preliminary narratives covering all important phases of military administration and operations. Such monographs have current use for training and planning and will serve future historians as guides to sources and tentative syntheses of materials.

The Navy is preparing both operational and administrative histories; and so are its two associated bodies, the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard. The naval administrative program is under the supervision of a recorder of Naval Administration; and separate historical officers have been, or will be, appointed in each of the several bureaus of the Navy Department. On the side of operations, there is a historian of naval operations who has been permitted to participate in actions in order to prepare a popular short history. A group in the Office of Naval Records and Library examines all operational reports and war diaries to make available the most pertinent materials. Other historical officers are dispatched to various points of special activity in order to make special reports. Liaison between Navy and Army historians is provided under the auspices of the American Military Institute.

The progress of all historical work being done in the agencies and departments is carefully noted by the Committee on Records of War Administration. This committee meets at quarterly intervals, or whenever major ques-

tions of policy and direction arise. Despite the heavy demands of other duties the members of the committee have devoted much time and thought to the important policy problems which have developed in the planning for war history. So far the work has been essentially advisory in nature. The policy has been one of relating the interests of people in different agencies, rather than of formulating a central plan. For the future, the problem of central guidance must be stressed if the work is to be effectively done. At a meeting in August, 1943, the committee considered the broader aspects of the history of World War II and agreed upon six over-all objectives. The committee took no responsibility for the wide coverage indicated by the following objectives, but it did call attention to certain principles:

1. All of the major Federal agencies should gather data relating to their development and their most significant activities during this war period in order to create a central historical file. Upon the basis of this file the historical officer should prepare a first narrative comprising the life story of the agency and including material of a highly confidential nature.
2. There should be several non-official and popular accounts of World War II written from different standpoints, showing the military operation of the war, the civilian administration of the war, and the diplomatic phases of the war.
3. There should be a series of scholarly monographs analyzing the effect of the war on important phases of our social and economic life.
4. Studies should be made on a selected list of topics that are the concern of no one government or private organization.
5. State historical groups should prepare accounts of state activities in World War II.
6. Leading American industrial firms should have histories written recounting their war work.

Another important step has recently been taken to further research on the impact of World War II upon American life. In September, 1943, the Social Science Research Council appointed a Committee on War Studies, composed of Roy F. Nichols and Donald Young, University of Pennsylvania; John A. Krout and Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University; Pendleton Herring, Harvard University; Paul T. Homan, Cornell University; and James Phinney Baxter, Williams College. The work of this committee, as a non-governmental enterprise, is expected to supplement that of the historical officers in the Federal government, as well as to foster historical activities in the states, in industry, in labor, and in other private organizations. Mr. Clough has become a full-time member of the staff of the Social Science



Research Council and has been given a mandate to plan, in co-operation with the Committee on War Studies, research in the field of American wartime experience and to interest scholars in the execution of these plans.<sup>2</sup>

The Committee on Records of War Administration has been primarily concerned with historical efforts within the government by governmental officers; the Committee on War Studies is primarily concerned with stimulating historical efforts outside the government by private scholars. An association of the two committees was effected on October 28, 1943, by the formation of an Advisory Council on War History. This new group is expected to provide guidance and liaison between governmental and private historians.

On November 18 the newly constituted Advisory Council on War History held its first meeting, with Guy Stanton Ford as chairman. In the words of the resolution previously adopted by each of the associated units, "The Advisory Council has thus come into being on the understanding that each of its components will continue its originally designated task, but with the hope that the Advisory Council can be of service in matters of common concern." A committee consisting of Mr. MacLeish and Mr. Leland was appointed to draft a statement making known to executive offices the formation and purpose of the three organizations together with their plans as they are presently developed and the readiness of the Advisory Council to render the services indicated by its title. An executive committee was chosen consisting of Guy Stanton Ford, chairman, Waldo G. Leland, Roy F. Nichols, and as members and executive secretaries Pendleton Herring and Shepard B. Clough.

The objectives outlined above conform closely to those approved in the business meeting of the American Historical Association on December 30, 1942.

RESEARCH STAFF OF COMMITTEE ON RECORDS OF WAR ADMINISTRATION  
(BUREAU OF THE BUDGET)

Executive Secretary  
Acting Section Chief

Dr. Pendleton Herring  
Dr. S. McKee Rosen

The members of the staff are covering the following areas: War Supply; Manpower; Information, Morale, and Censorship; Health, Welfare, and Civilian Defense; Transportation and Shipping; Price Control and Stabilization; International Economic Relations.

<sup>2</sup> In this last connection information about work in progress or projected studies would be appreciated. Outlines of areas of investigation have been prepared and are available upon request. Dr. Clough may be reached at the offices of the Social Science Research Council, either at 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., or at 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.



## CHIEF HISTORICAL OFFICERS IN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

## Armed Forces

## War Department

Historical Branch, G-2

Army Ground Forces

Army Service Forces

Army Air Forces

## Navy Department

Naval Records and Library

Naval Operations

Naval Administration

Marine Corps

Coast Guard

## Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staff

## Civil Agencies

Department of Agriculture

Labor Department

Post Office Department

State Department

Federal Security Agency

National Housing Agency

Tennessee Valley Authority

Veterans Administration

Alien Property Custodian

Committee for Congested Production Areas

Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

Foreign Economic Administration

Office of Economic Warfare

Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation

Office of Lend-Lease Administration

National War Labor Board

Office of Censorship

Office of Civilian Defense

Office of Price Administration

Office of Scientific Research and Development

Office of War Information

Office of War Mobilization

Petroleum Administration for War

Smaller War Plants Corporation

War Manpower Commission

War Production Board

War Relocation Authority

White House

## American Red Cross

## National Research Council

Committee on History of Psychology and  
the War

Subcommittee on Historical Records (Medical)

Dr. Walter L. Wright and

Lt. Col. John Kemper

Major Kent Roberts Greenfield

Lt. Col. John D. Millett

Col. Clarence T. Lober

Capt. D. W. Knox

Lt. Cmdr. Samuel Eliot Morison

Dr. Robert G. Albion

Col. C. H. Metcalf

Lt. Cmdr. F. R. Eldridge

Lt. Rodney C. Loehr

Dr. O. C. Stine

Mr. Sidney W. Wilcox

Mr. Forest Hall

Dr. Graham Stuart

Mrs. Zilpha C. Franklin

Dr. Helen C. Monchow

Mr. Paul Ager

Mrs. Kathleen D. Smith

Dr. Fritz Machlup

Mr. Louis P. Birk

Dr. Benjamin Margolin

Dr. William L. Tayler

Dr. Grace Fox

Mr. Louis K. Hyde, jr.

Mr. Benjamin Stephansky

Lt. Theodore F. Koop

Dr. Elwyn A. Mauck

Dr. Robert E. Stone

Dr. James Phinney Baxter

Mrs. Barbara W. Soule

Miss Cassie Connor

Dr. Carl L. Lokke

Mr. Lawrence H. Dierks

Dr. Constance Kiehel

Dr. James W. Fesler

Miss Ruth Elinor McKee

Mr. Fred W. Shipman

Mr. Walter Davidson

Dr. Robert M. Yerkes

Dr. John F. Fulton

# The Authorship of the War Report of 1812

CHARLES M. WILTSE\*

ON June 3, 1812, John C. Calhoun, acting chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, laid before the House of Representatives a report calling for war with England. For nearly a century historians and biographers more or less uncritically attributed the authorship of the report to the man who presented it, but in January of 1908 Gaillard Hunt published in the *American Historical Review* (XIII, 303-11) evidence which seemed to him conclusive that James Monroe had actually written the document. Since that date Hunt's conclusions have been accepted just as uncritically as had been the earlier *prima facie* evidence in favor of Calhoun. It is a small point and hardly necessary to secure the fame of either man, but a re-examination of the facts in the case may be not without interest.

The only positive authority for Monroe's authorship of the report is that of Joseph Gales, senior editor of the *National Intelligencer* from 1810 until his death in 1860.<sup>1</sup> Gales published in the *Intelligencer* for September 3, 1853, the complete text of a speech made by John Randolph in the House of Representatives on January 12, 1813, in which Randolph implied that Monroe's entry into Madison's cabinet had been the signal for war with Great Britain. In a note to the speech Gales enlarged upon the implication, partly to defend Monroe from the charge that his conduct in the cabinet was inconsistent with his earlier conduct as minister to England and partly to acknowledge that "the opinions and exertions of Mr. Monroe greatly influenced" the declaration of war.

At the time this note appeared Richard K. Crallé was preparing Calhoun's writings for publication and apparently wrote to Gales respecting the authorship of the war report. His letter found Gales unable to write and was answered in the editor's behalf by William W. Moore on January 12, 1854. The answer, as given by Hunt, reads in part as follows:

The War Manifesto reported in the House of Rep<sup>s</sup> on third of June, 1812, was the production of Mr. Munroe [*sic*]. Of this Mr. Gales is positively certain, as well from other knowledge as from his familiarity with the handwriting in which the

\*The writer took his doctor's degree at Cornell in 1932, presenting a study of Jefferson's philosophy of the state. In 1935 he published the *Jeffersonian Tradition in American Democracy* and has recently completed the first volume of a life of Calhoun. At present he is with the Policy Analysis and Records Branch, Office of the Executive Secretary, War Production Board.

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Hart Benton also asserts that Monroe was the author, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1854-56), I, 680, but he is undoubtedly following Gales.

Report is written, being that of Mr. Munroe's Private Secretary and Confidential Clerk. The Select Committee by which this report was made had the subject referred to them at the close of the day's sitting on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June, and submitted their report on the opening of the House on the 3<sup>d</sup> of June, which fact, taken in connexion with the importance of the subject and the conciseness of the statements of the report, sufficiently indicate the improbability that the committee could, within the brief time that intervened after the reference, have deliberated upon the subject, prepared this report, and had it copied. . . . I mail to your address herewith a copy of the *Intelligencer* of the 3<sup>d</sup> of Sept. last, containing a Speech of Mr. Randolph, in the Notes appended to which, prepared by Mr. Gales with the aid of an amanuensis, is some reference to Mr. Monroe's agency in the War of 1812 which you may have overlooked. A letter has been received by Mr. Gales, since the publication of that speech, from a gentleman who was a confidential member of the Government at the time the Speech was made, entirely confirming the impressions stated in the "Notes" that Mr. Monroe was the author of the war Report.

A postscript, dated January 20, explains that the letter was delayed while Moore searched for an "unpublished article written by Mr. Gales two or three years ago," extracts from which were enclosed. Moore goes on to say that the extracts formed "part of several columns of interesting historical matter, written at the request and for the use of an eminent *living* statesman, who found it necessary to use only a portion of the matter thus furnished."

The eminent statesman referred to was John J. Crittenden, former attorney general of the United States, who used one paragraph of Gales's material in an oration in memory of Henry Clay. The paragraph is quoted in Gales's note to Randolph's speech, its purport being that Monroe was convinced from the time he returned from his mission to England that we must go to war with that nation. The remaining extracts from Gales's article tend to show that Clay, Calhoun, and their associates relied heavily upon the Secretary of State for advice and prevailed upon him to write the report on the President's war message.

Whilst Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, and others, within the walls of the Capitol, were breaking lances with the opponents of the preparation for war, there was in operation, at the further end of the avenue, an influence less publicly exerted, but not less potent, upon the hearts and understandings of the younger Members of the House of Rep<sup>s</sup>, and especially upon those who composed the Com<sup>tee</sup> on Foreign Relations. Comparatively young and inexperienced in National affairs, they naturally resorted to Mr. Monroe, who might be termed, without a hyperbole, the Nestor of the day, for information and advice as to the affairs of which, as Secretary of State, he was the official depository, and for the lessons of experience which he had acquired by long service abroad. To these gentlemen, in frequent private consultations, principally at his own abode in the long winter nights, he constantly repeated the deep conviction of which I have already spoken, of the infinite disgrace which would infallibly attend a longer submission to foreign insult and outrage; replying, night after night, to every suggestion of postponement, delay, or

renewed attempts at negotiation, "Gentlemen, *we must fight*. We are forever disgraced if we do not;" disgraced in our own estimation, in the eyes of our adversary, "and in the opinion of the world."

Chiefly through the fearless influence of the counsels of these ardent patriots, the House of Rep<sup>s</sup>, on whose decision, as the originator of all measures of revenue, the prosecution of a war must depend, was gradually warmed up to a war spirit. But the actual Declaration of war had not yet been proposed. The Pres<sup>t</sup> had, not from any backwardness on his part, or doubt in regard to the necessity of a resort to arms, but deterred by a remaining doubt in his mind as to the House sustaining the Executive in a declaration of war, hesitated to recommend the measure.

More than six months had passed since Congress met, and the question of actual war was still in suspense. At length, after private conference, a deputation of Members of Congress, with Mr. Clay at their head, waited upon the President, and, upon the representations of the readiness of a majority of Congress to vote the war if recommended, the Pres<sup>dent</sup>, on the first Monday in June, transmitted to Congress his message submitting that question to their decision. The agency of Mr. Monroe in this measure was not yet at an end; for the Com<sup>ee</sup> on Foreign Relations, to whom the President's message was referred, had prevailed upon the Secretary, as being more fully possessed than themselves of the facts and merits of the question, to prepare a Report upon the message; which Report was presented to the House of Reps. by the committee, as their report, on the second day after the reception of the message, and had been (from its length) evidently prepared, if not adopted, by the Committee before the message was sent in.

The extract from Gales's unpublished article concludes by quoting a paragraph from the war report, "which no one who had ever heard Mr. Munroe discourse upon the subject, could doubt to have been his." To this quotation we shall recur later.

What Gales's "other knowledge" was we cannot now determine, nor can we ascertain the identity of the "confidential member of the Government at the time the Speech was made," whose letter to Gales confirmed Monroe's authorship of the report. Either of these pieces of evidence may be conclusive, but we have it only on Gales's assertion that they are so. The evidence he actually produces for his assertion that Monroe wrote the report may be reduced upon analysis to five points: the handwriting, the time element, Monroe's known desire for war, his practice of advising the young War Hawks, and the content and style of the report itself.

The fact that Gales had seen the manuscript of the report and recognized the handwriting for that of Monroe's confidential clerk proves nothing with respect to authorship of the document. The clerk merely copied it—an essential procedure in the days before the advent of typewriters and carbon paper—and it does not follow that it was necessarily Monroe's work he was copying. Congressional committees in those days did not enjoy the stenographic assistance they have today, and the need for haste might well have induced the Secretary of State to lend his clerk for the copying.

As to the time element, Moore's letter comments on the "improbability that the committee could, within the brief time that intervened after the reference [of the President's message], have deliberated upon the subject, prepared this report, and had it copied"; and the Gales article similarly concludes that the report, because of its length, had been "evidently prepared, if not adopted, by the Committee before the message was sent in."<sup>2</sup>

It is no doubt true that the report was prepared, at least in outline, before the President's message was received. This does not prove, however, that Monroe rather than Calhoun or Grundy or others on the committee prepared it. Senator George M. Bibb of Kentucky, who lived at the same mess with Clay, Calhoun, and Grundy, wrote to Crittenden on May 21 that the President was then at work on the message and that Congress was already preparing the declaration of war.<sup>3</sup> The committee and Congress had in fact been deliberating on the subject ever since the session opened seven months before; and the argument of the war report, if not its detail, is fully developed in the report of the Foreign Relations Committee, which Porter presented to the House on November 29, 1811. This earlier report has generally been attributed to Calhoun, and it bears every internal evidence of being his; but whoever wrote it, it still proves that the committee had been deliberating war with England for at least six months before the President's war message was sent to Congress and that the members of the committee were then using the same arguments later adduced to justify the declaration of war.

Neither can Monroe's insistence that "we must fight" be used as proof that he wrote the war report. Even as late as his appointment as Secretary of State, in April, 1811, Monroe still hoped, though not sanguinely, that an adjustment with Britain could be made; and he did all in his power to bring it about.<sup>4</sup> Yet six months before Monroe joined the cabinet, Clay, Calhoun, Grundy, Lowndes, and the other War Hawks had been elected to Congress on a wave of popular reaction against further temporizing. They were most of them men who had quite frankly stood for war ever since the *Chesapeake* outrage in 1807, whereas Monroe continued to sulk over the rejection by Jefferson of his British treaty at least until 1810. It seems, in fact, to have been only after his reconciliation with Jefferson and Madison that Monroe turned his resentment toward Great Britain and began to look upon war as necessary. No, it cannot be demonstrated that Monroe was the author of the

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation here is as Professor Hunt has transcribed it. To bear out Gales's own argument, the comma should be after "Committee" instead of following "adopted."

<sup>3</sup> Crittenden MSS., Library of Congress.

<sup>4</sup> Monroe to John Taylor, June 13, 1812, *Writings of James Monroe*, ed. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (New York, 1898-1903), V, 205.

war report by arguing that he, rather than the congressional War Hawks, sought the war.

Regarding the fourth point, it is doubtless true that Monroe was consulted by members of the House and perhaps especially by "those who composed the Com<sup>ee</sup> on Foreign Relations," but that he had any real influence over them is doubtful. In foreign affairs, at least, it was not Monroe, whose only diplomatic triumph was a treaty with Britain so odious that the President feared even to submit it to the Senate, but Madison, who was the "Nestor of the day," and the War Hawks distrusted both of them. It was, indeed, a full month after the session opened and a week after the first report of the Foreign Affairs Committee was presented in November that Monroe succeeded in convincing the War Mess that the administration would "cooperate zealously with Congress in declaring war, if our complaints are not redressed by May next."<sup>5</sup> Once this assurance was given, it may, of course, be that Calhoun and his committee relied heavily on Monroe's advice; but there is no evidence that the secretary's influence over them was any greater than that of the President or anyone else. It is true, as Gales says, that the War Hawks were young and inexperienced, but they were also men of unusual ability and of far greater decisiveness than either Madison or Monroe. Since they knew what they wanted when they came to Congress, they hardly needed a great deal of advice. When it was offered, they rejected it bluntly if it did not agree with their own intentions. Even in the matter of procedure, where inexperience should have put them at a disadvantage, they showed themselves to be more adroit than the veterans of the House on more than one occasion.<sup>6</sup>

If we assume for the sake of argument, however, that Calhoun and his committee did often seek Monroe's advice, that still does not prove that the secretary drafted the war report.

Now we come to the question of style. The Gales fragment ends by quoting the concluding lines of the report, "which no one who had ever heard Mr. Munroe discourse upon the subject, could doubt to have been his." The passage follows:

Your committee, believing that the free-born sons of America are worthy to enjoy the liberty which their fathers purchased at the price of so much blood and treasure, and seeing in the measures adopted by Great Britain, a course commenced and persisted in, which must lead to a loss of national character and independence, feel no hesitation in advising resistance by force, in which the Americans of the

<sup>5</sup> Lowndes to his wife, Dec. 7, 1811, Harriott H. Ravenel, *Life and Times of William Lowndes of South Carolina, 1782-1822* (Boston, 1901), p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> E. g., the silencing of Randolph by Calhoun and Clay, May 29, 1812, *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 1st sess., 1451-70.

present day will prove to the enemy and to the world, that we have not only inherited that liberty which our fathers gave us, but also the will and power to maintain it. Relying on the patriotism of the nation, and confidently trusting that the Lord of Hosts will go with us to battle in a righteous cause, and crown our efforts with success, your committee recommend an immediate appeal to arms.

With this passage, Professor Hunt suggests comparison of the following, from Monroe's letter to John Taylor, June 18, 1812:<sup>7</sup>

Nothing would satisfy the present Ministry of England short of unconditional submission; which it was impossible to make. This fact being completely ascertained the only remaining alternative was to get ready for fighting, and to begin as soon as we were ready. This was the plan of the administration when Congress met in December last; the President's message announced it; and every step taken by the administration since has led to it.

If there is any resemblance between the two passages, it could easily be explained by pointing out that the letter quoted is dated June 18, two weeks *after* the war report was presented. A more fruitful comparison may be made with the first report of the Foreign Relations Committee, dated November 29, 1811:

That proud spirit of liberty and independence, which sustained our fathers in the successful assertion of their liberties against foreign aggression, is not yet sunk. The patriotic fire of the revolution still burns in the American breast with a holy and unextinguishable flame, and will conduct this nation to those high destinies, which are not less the reward of dignified moderation, than of exalted valor.

But we have borne with injury until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. The sovereignty and independence of these States, purchased and sanctified by the blood of our fathers, from whom we received them, not for ourselves only, but as the inheritance of our posterity, are deliberately and systematically violated. And the period has arrived, when, in the opinion of your committee, it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and resources of the country. By the aid of these, and with the blessing of God, we confidently trust we shall be enabled to procure that redress, which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance and forbearance, in vain.

Other selections from the two reports could be chosen which show even more similarity than those reproduced here. The phrase used in the first sentence of the last paragraph above, for example, "forbearance has ceased to be a virtue," recurs verbatim in the war report.<sup>8</sup> In the other letters of Monroe's to which Professor Hunt makes reference,<sup>9</sup> the present writer can detect not the slightest resemblance to the war report, either in form or content.

<sup>7</sup> Monroe's *Writings*, V, 205.

<sup>8</sup> *American State Papers: Foreign Affairs*, III (Washington, 1832), 567.

<sup>9</sup> To Brent, Feb. 25, 1810; to Taylor, Sept. 10 and Nov. 19, 1810, and Jan. 23, 1811; to Tazewell, Feb. 25, 1811, Monroe's *Writings*, V, 108 ff.



One further point remains before conclusions may be drawn. The conclusion that Monroe wrote the war report is based, as we have seen, entirely on evidence submitted by Joseph Gales, who was a thoroughgoing partisan of Monroe. Gales became sole proprietor of the *National Intelligencer* in 1810, at the age of twenty-four, and was no doubt as susceptible to flattery from the highly placed as any other young man in his position might have been. When Monroe became Secretary of State, Gales called upon him. And judging by the account Gales himself gives in his "Recollections of the Civil History of the War of 1812,"<sup>10</sup> the young editor and the revolutionary patriot became immediately attached to each other. Monroe doubtless saw in Gales an instrument for furthering his own presidential ambitions, while Gales, for his part, saw in the secretary the impelling force behind the War of 1812. Busy as he was reporting the debates of the Senate, Gales did not see at first hand the operations of the War Hawks in the House, and he saw little of the President. His information came from Monroe, who went out of his way to be generous with it, and in later years Gales tended to magnify the position occupied by the secretary at that time.

All this, of course, does not prove that Monroe did not write the report, or that Calhoun did. It does, however, seem to put the question back where it was before Professor Hunt came upon the Gales material. The common practice was for the chairman of a committee to draft a report, submit it to the head of the appropriate department, and then to revise it on the basis of suggestions received;<sup>11</sup> and there is no reason to assume that the procedure varied greatly in this case. The report was most probably a group product, in which many men, Calhoun, Grundy, Monroe, and perhaps Clay, had a hand; but in every group or committee or conference whose members undertake to prepare a report, there is always one who holds the pen and formulates in phrases the ideas that he or his colleagues may suggest. That one will generally be the most facile writer in the group: the one who can formulate most tellingly the points agreed upon; and certainly no member of the Twelfth Congress, nor any man associated with Madison's administration—least of all Monroe—was in this respect the peer of Calhoun.

<sup>10</sup> *National Intelligencer*, June 9, 16, 25; July 14, 30; Aug. 8, 15, 29; and Sept. 12, 1857.

<sup>11</sup> *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Philadelphia, 1874-77), V, 131-32.

## A Letter on Major John André in Germany

RICHARD D. LOEWENBERG\*

MAJOR John André's American period has been investigated and described so often and in such detail that his pre-Revolutionary life, most important for the understanding of his puzzling character, is sometimes neglected. While studying the life and works of the German philosopher and physicist Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, I came across a letter which he wrote two months after André's death about André's travels through Germany, a period which Winthrop Sargent's biography hardly mentions.<sup>1</sup> The letter is interesting not only because it shows what a deep impression André's death caused in remote parts of the world within an amazingly short time but also because of the outstanding personality of the writer.

Lichtenberg (1742-99) was a professor of physics at the University of Göttingen in Hanover, which at that time belonged to the English crown. He introduced the electrical symbols positive (+) and negative (—) into the new science of electricity, discovered the electrical dust figures named after him, a small moon crater which also bears his name, and he was the first man in central Europe to experiment with the lightning rod and small balloons filled with hydrogen.

The most famous scientists of his time—Volta, Herschel, De Luc, Faraday, Goethe, and Kant—exchanged letters with him. He was one of the rare great humorists and aphorists in German literature. Like those of Rochefoucauld, Swift, and Franklin, with whom he shared the deep belief in the superiority of reason, his mind was universal in its reach. His keen self-observations and dream investigations made him a forerunner of psychoanalysis.<sup>2</sup> His clear methodical awareness of the pre-scientific structure of

\*Dr. Loewenberg practiced neuropsychiatry in Germany and in China for many years. He came to this country in 1937 and at present is working on a war assignment for the Western Pacific Railroad in the High Sierras at Portola, California.

<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Career of Major John André* (New York, 1902); Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1941), deals with André only in connection with Arnold's treason.

<sup>2</sup> Loewenberg, "The Significance of the Obvious," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, X (1941), 666-79.

language made him a pioneer of semantics.<sup>3</sup> His classic descriptions of Hogarth's works and Garrick's acting and his diary of his travels to England, written partly in English, are not only valuable contributions to the history of his time but illustrate also his special talent for an analysis of characters and his pro-English attitude.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore it seems that his opinion and observation of such a controversial and complex nature as Major John André's should be of significance. The following passage is a translation from the second volume of his letters (Göttingen, 1846), page 258, which is the eighth volume of his collected writings.<sup>5</sup> The letter is addressed to his friend Schernhagen, *Kloster-Registrator* at Hanover.

Göttingen

Nov. 30, 1780

My supposition that the hanged Major André is ours proved unfortunately to be true. An Englishman named Rauden is studying here at present. He arrived only the day before yesterday and knew André as aide-de-camp of General Clinton at New York. André, the aide-de camp, told him that he studied at Göttingen. Is that not sad? You were touched already before you knew the man; however when you knew what an excellent mind he was, you could not think of him without extreme grief. He and Sir Francis Clarke have certainly been (I don't say so because both are dead) the most distinguished Englishmen whom we have had here during the last sixteen years and André was the most sympathetic and engaging. He spoke equally perfect English, German, and French and he painted excellently. When Gatterer<sup>6</sup> and I were at Gotha, he was also there and painted for his pleasure the duke and the duchess. His brother is now at the Carolina at Brunswick. It was certainly a peculiar enterprise, which I would not have believed him able to do, being a man of nearly womanlike modesty and gentleness. For he could not be forced to do it.

This Mr. Rauden is a peculiar figure at our university. He was taken prisoner with General Bourgoyne and he is studying here as American prisoner on *parole d'honneur*.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper "Georg Christoph Lichtenberg: An Eighteenth Century Pioneer of Semantics," which is to be published by the Institute of General Semantics, Chicago.

<sup>4</sup> Norman Aliston, tr., *Reflections of Lichtenberg* (London, 1908); Margaret Mare, tr., *Lichtenberg's Visits to England as Described in His Letters and Diaries* (Oxford, 1938).

<sup>5</sup> *Vermischte Schriften. Neue vermehrte, von dessen Soehnen veranstaltete Original- ausgabe* (Göttingen, 1844-47). This is the last complete edition, but it is not up to modern standards.

<sup>6</sup> John C. G. Gatterer (1727-99) for forty active years professor of history in Göttingen. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, VIII (Leipzig, 1878), 410-13.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

## General History

THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. By *Jacques Barzun, Hajo Holborn, Herbert Heaton, Dumas Malone, and George La Piana*. Edited with an Introduction by *Joseph R. Strayer*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. 186. \$2.50.)

HISTORIANS in this country have shown a regrettable tendency to view with suspicion not only philosophies of history, a concept discredited by Hegelian excesses, but also any philosophical thought regarding the interpretation of history. Some have refused to admit that the historian's task should include interpretation at all. More have simply been loath to discuss either the principles guiding their work or its general usefulness to society, with the result that such discussion has been left largely to men who were not historians and who frequently lacked the practical knowledge of the craft needed to give validity to their generalizations. There have been increasing signs, however, of a change in this attitude within the past decade or two. More and more historians have recognized the obligation of thinking about what they were doing and why they were doing it. The little volume under discussion at present is one of the most hopeful evidences of this tendency. The six essays included in it were written by practicing historians. They present no "philosophy of history" nor do they argue in favor of any particular interpretation, but each essay is filled with illuminating comment on problems which every thoughtful historian has had to consider.

The first three essays, including the editor's introduction, deal with the interpretation of history in general and especially with the question of the significance and validity of historical study and writing for contemporary society. All three recognize the potentially evil power of the wrong kind of history in a historically minded age. Jacques Barzun, in particular, is concerned with the problem of the unhappy divergence of what he calls "popular and unpopular history." While fully agreeing with Hajo Holborn's profession of faith in the value of the results achieved by the science of history, which the latter defines as "the critical and systematic approach to history," Professor Barzun would seem to question the utility of such a science so long as its results remain within the covers of unread books, while lay society learns its history from formalized textbooks and from superficial if not tendentious popularizations. In keeping with his insistence on the primary duty of the historian to communicate his knowledge it is his opinion, shared by the editor, that the task of interpreting history is now more important than that of adding to the already unmanageable accumulation of factual material.

With this opinion Herbert Heaton, in an essay on the "Economic Impact on History," seems not in entire agreement, feeling apparently that the economic

historian has still much to learn before he can draw conclusions on any broad scale and that, indeed, there has already been too much hasty generalization from inadequate data, particularly of the Marxian variety. This is undoubtedly true, but even an economic historian may be excused for indulging in some thought before all the possible data have been made available. Dumas Malone's discussion of the problems of historical biography is practical rather than theoretical in the main and could not possibly be summarized in the space available here. The final essay is a superlatively clear, compact sketch of the theological interpretation of history, culminating in some conclusions which, while not too closely germane to the subject, will bear consideration.

New York University

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER AS A HISTORICAL THINKER. By *Fulmer Mood*. (Boston: reprinted from the *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. XXXIV. Pp. 283-352.)

THE title of this monograph denotes exactly what the author has done. Sixty of the sixty-nine pages are devoted to a careful examination of Turner's career up to the age of forty, with special reference to the influences which shaped his ideas about history in general and the history of the United States in particular. Much of what is here presented was known before; but Mr. Mood has brought it all together and by examining catalogues, local newspapers, and other out-of-the-way sources has enriched the story with much informing detail. To anyone interested in Turner's famous "frontier" interpretation of American history, Mr. Mood's monograph is therefore indispensable.

It is known, for example, that Turner studied under William F. Allen and was profoundly impressed by him. But Mr. Mood makes it clear that Allen (himself influenced by the German historian H. L. Heeren) emphasized in his courses the importance of westward expansion and settlement; and it may well be that Turner got from Allen directly many of his basic ideas about the "frontier." Mr. Mood mentions, as one of the books that may have influenced Turner, J. R. Seeley's *Expansion of England*. Certainly the idea of "expansion," of people seeking adventure in unknown lands, always appealed to Turner (he was a great admirer of Kipling's "Seven Seas" verses, as I can testify). Other writers who probably influenced Turner, according to Mr. Mood, were J. R. Green, Francis Walker, and Richard T. Ely. Unless I have missed it, Mr. Mood does not mention the Italian economist Loria. But Turner himself mentions Loria in his essay on the "Significance of the Frontier." Loria urged the study of colonial life as an aid to understanding the stages of European development and stated that "America has the key to the historical enigma which Europe has sought for in vain, and the land that has no history reveals luminously the course of universal history." Mr. Mood makes much of the now mostly forgotten *History of America* by the

English historian J. A. Doyle. The following sentences might have been written by Turner himself, so exactly do they express Turner's ideas:

I have already said that the history of the United States is, in great measure, the history of the process by which a small body of colonies on the Atlantic seaboard have spread towards the west. When that process is ended, it is possible that many of the peculiar features which distinguish America from the Old World may disappear.

Then Mr. Mood goes at considerable length into Turner's early interest in and use of such works as *Scribner's Atlas*, Powell's *Physiographic Regions of the United States*, and the Census Bulletin for 1890 on *Population of the United States by States and Territories*. It is well known that Turner had his ideas well in hand when he wrote, for Allen, the study on the *Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin*. The great value of Mr. Mood's monograph is to make it clearer than it was just where he got them.

Turner's famous "interpretation" Mr. Mood neither criticizes nor defends, but he defends Turner against the charge of being "provincial"—the charge that he began with courses on the general history of the United States and then narrowed his interest to the course on the history of the West. Mr. Mood refutes this charge by pointing out that Turner got Carl R. Fish to come to Wisconsin primarily to teach the history of New England and Ulrich B. Phillips primarily to teach the history of the South. The charge is absurd, but I think it arises chiefly from a mistaken notion of what Turner meant by "the West." It was a little unfortunate that Turner often used the terms "West" and "frontier" interchangeably. Turner wasn't really interested in the "West" because it was West, or the "frontier" because it was a frontier. What primarily interested Turner is indicated by a statement in his first work (*Fur Trade in Wisconsin*): "The exploitation of the Indian is generally dismissed with the convenient explanatory phrase, 'the march of civilization.' But how did it march?" Not how does civilization march from January to November, but how does it march from simple to complex forms. Now the point is that the "frontier"—the various and successive frontiers as they moved westward from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific—presented an ideal opportunity to study the process by which society develops, or "marches," from relatively primitive to relatively complex forms. This process in its successive manifestations on a moving frontier and the influence of this process on the course of American history—this was what really interested Turner. To miss this is to miss the point entirely. Some of Turner's students have, I am afraid, missed the point entirely. Turner's use of the term "West" has led some of them to suppose that if they made an exhaustive statistical inquiry into, for example, the development of the production of corn and hogs in Iowa, or some other Western state, they would be applying Turner's "method." Turner was never himself "provincial," but too many of his students have been.

To Turner's early students Mr. Mood gives some attention and asks: "How did Turner contrive to win so thoroughly complete a reception for his interpretation of American history?" To this question he has no extended or very satisfactory answer. What seems to strike Mr. Mood as somewhat singular is that there was not, "apparently," among the early Turner students "any criticism of the Turner interpretation." Not until 1909, when Edmond S. Meany read a paper entitled "The Towns of the Pacific North West Were not Founded on the Fur Trade," was there any suggestion that "every single word of the famous essay of 1893 was not utterly accurate and true." Maybe there wasn't in print. But as one of Turner's early students (1893-98) I can assure Mr. Mood that some of the better students, B. H. Meyer for one, by no means accepted every word of Turner's "interpretation" as gospel truth. But aside from that, there are some things that need to be remembered. One is that Turner never gave us the impression that he thought he had settled any single question in American history. Another is that he did not himself have in those early years (if ever) as clear-cut an idea of what his "interpretation" of American history was as many of his students and critics have had. The thing that chiefly struck us in those early years was that if he had one week a very suggestive idea of the way some particular problem ought to be regarded, he would think the next week, as the result of some new "data" turned up, that it should be regarded in a somewhat different way. What struck us most was the fact that Turner was forever throwing off suggestive particular interpretations of particular problems—always as suggestions calling for further study, not as something to be taken as gospel truth.

What is now too often forgotten is that in the 1890's it was revolutionary and refreshing for students to find that history might be something more than a record of "facts," and particularly of facts about political parties, elections, and laws enacted by the Congress. It was also revolutionary and refreshing to find that the occupation and development of the "West" really had something to do with the history of the United States. These two general aspects of Turner's "interpretation" we accepted, sure enough; and is there anyone who does not still accept them? Turner's "influence" was largely the result of his emphasis on these two things. But in the last analysis his "influence" was the result of something still more general and indefinable—the extraordinarily vivid and inspiring spirit of the man himself. After all, what Turner taught us was that history is an inexhaustible subject which includes all of human life, that there are any number of approaches to the study of it, and that to expect to find any final answer to the significance of history is as futile as to expect to find any final answer to the meaning of life. The very last thing Turner expected or wanted was that anyone should ever suppose that he had found any final answer.

*Cornell University*

CARL BECKER



## APOSTLE OF DEMOCRACY: THE LIFE OF LUCY MAYNARD SALMON.

By *Louise Fargo Brown*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1943. Pp. 315. \$3.50.)

THIS admirable biography shows well the part that Lucy Salmon played in the development of historical studies in the United States in the formative years covered by her lifetime. She was thoroughly imbued with the ideals of German scholarship, but she was not content merely to emphasize the use of sources and sound criticism. She looked constantly beyond the customary historical fields into regions as yet unexplored, shocking the conventional by studying domestic service. In this she anticipated by a generation the discovery by later explorers of the untilled prairie lands of social history. Similarly, in her extreme emphasis on the individual in her teaching she acted on assumptions later discovered and proclaimed by so-called "Progressives." All this and much more is clearly and sympathetically set forth by her biographer. Her position as a constructive educational thinker was early recognized by the historical profession in which she was regarded as the leading academic figure of her sex.

In writing of her personal career as student and teacher the biographer had a difficult task. The technique of the classroom escapes reproduction, and the impact of the teacher on her students can be described only by generalities which are pale and ineffectual. Miss Salmon's career was utterly undramatic. With all her intellectual independence she was uncombative and shrank from a contest. But she did have an unshakable tenacity in her beliefs about individualism, personal liberty, and human equality, and to these she adhered in the face of everything and everybody. The difficulties she encountered at Vassar, on which the biography touches discreetly, were mainly due to her own untrammelled individualism, unmodified by any shadow of expediency. This made her a thorn in the side of the administration and many of the faculty whose interests were along the line of corporate action. But the stage was a very small one and the conflicts diminutive.

Many recent biographers enliven their work by dwelling on their subjects' personal peculiarities, but Professor Brown avoids this pitfall. Miss Salmon's numerous oddities, to which the biographer scarcely alludes, made her a source of endless tales and anecdotes, usually friendly, often affectionate, but always the outcome of her selfless pursuit of historical or social truth and justice. Even those who laughed at her, or were exasperated, respected her solid integrity. In the history of Vassar College she will always remain a significant figure, even if the peculiar flavor of her unusual personality fades with the passing of the generations that knew her.

*Williams College*

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS. By *Walter Sulzbach*. Introduction by Hans Kohn. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. xi, 168. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.)

THE author of this book strictly limits the scope of its subject: in the first place, by substituting the precise term "national consciousness" for the generally employed but very vague word "nationalism"; in the second place, by stating explicitly that he has no intention of treating his subject from a historical point of view. The former is an obvious gain, the latter a definite loss. He asserts that it would not be possible at the present time to present a satisfactory survey of the historical development of national consciousness. That may well hold here, at least if one stresses the word "satisfactory." On the other hand, according to the opinion of the present reviewer, a preliminary sketch of such a history appears an indispensable condition for grasping the meaning of that highly complex psychological fact that hides itself in the even comparatively well-defined idea of national consciousness. Mr. Sulzbach's work seems to give proof that, without a historical understanding of the change and the increasing or decreasing strength of the elements constituting such consciousness, the study of its nature and its role in the life of the nations, let alone its future, is bound to miss essential aspects of its character. For instance, when he states the fact that not until recent times was language a factor in distinguishing nations, he makes no attempt to explain why it finally became so and therefore fails to see its real meaning in actual life. On the whole, whether he discusses language, race, geography, economics, or even historical traditions, he always neglects a truly historical appreciation and consequently never arrives at a true conception of their psychological influence in the shaping of national consciousness.

The author accepts and amplifies the idea that the foundation of national consciousness has to be sought in the pugnacious impulse of man. As a consequence he finds it condensed in the slogan "national honor," and he concludes that it has no meaning but in time of conflict and war. From this point of view he argues very effectively against the rationalizations of national demands or wishes which try to disguise their fundamental warlike character by apparently innocent or reasonable assertions. In this part of his work he throws out many valuable observations of a psychological as well as a practical order, and even in other sections he often makes remarks which may subject certain aspects of nationalism to a sharp light. His definition of a nation as "a group of people which wishes to be sovereign among other peoples and therefore desires a state of its own" is better than many previously offered but cannot be called complete, because it lacks a consideration of important modern elements of national sentiments within the most highly developed nations. It seems evident that his conception of national ideas has been strongly colored by his German experiences. Repeatedly he contrasts this nationalism of aggression and conquest with the peaceful nationalism typified

by Sweden, but he never makes an effort to explain or picture this other type of national consciousness.

He wants and hopes to see an end of what in his definition constitutes national consciousness. When, however, he bases his hope on the fact that the modern idea of nationality is man-made, as it certainly is, one cannot omit asking whether all social organization is not man-made, and I think he errs seriously when he imagines that national consciousness is a result of education and agitation, not of a growth of real and practical conditions. He concludes on an optimistic note with his hope of the future disappearance of the idea. But in fact his hope, as he conceives it, is very weakly founded. It is opposed, as he himself states, by the increasing economic organization of the nations which he therefore wants to stop. I, for one, regard this development as inevitable. I think the hopeful solution lies in transforming the pugnacious type of national consciousness into the peaceful type which, among other nations, Sweden approaches.

*Washington, D. C.*

HALVDAN KOHT

THE HERO IN HISTORY: A STUDY IN LIMITATION AND POSSIBILITY. By *Sidney Hook*. (New York: John Day Company. 1943. Pp. xiv, 273. \$2.50.)

IN this excellent short book, which is equally distinguished by measured moderation of judgment and by incisiveness of thought, the author seeks and finds "a plausible balance between the part men played [in history] and the conditioning scene which provided the materials, sometimes the rules, but never the plot of the dramas of human history." The objective conditions and the subjective factor are closely interlinked: both of them condition the historical event; none of them alone determines the issue. In a historical situation the intelligent observer can predict the advent of a revolution or the approach of war; he can analyze the trends driving toward catastrophe, but he can not foresee what the outcome will be, because that may depend upon the character of leadership. If a situation represents genuine alternatives, the presence of a great man, an event-making man, can have a decisive influence. Such event-making men are rare. Thomas Jefferson wished to be known as the author of the Declaration of Independence, as the promoter of religious liberty and of higher education, yet in none of these fields did he do more than give formal expression to a movement already in existence. The only action in which he can be regarded as, even in a small degree, event-making was the Louisiana Purchase, to which he himself attributed less importance. But a truly event-making man was Lenin, and Professor Hook devotes an interesting chapter to the Russian Revolution as a test case for his thesis. The Revolution of February, 1917, was unplanned but historically expected; the October Revolution was planned but historically unexpected. Its success was unthinkable without Lenin. He transformed a possibility into an actuality.

Professor Hook takes sharp issue with the extreme determinists, especially with the modern school of fatalism which derives from Spengler and Pareto. Ironically he remarks that, for all their talk of the inevitable, the determinists never resign themselves to the inevitable when it is not to their liking. In personal life as in history we are always confronted with alternatives; our choice determines our destiny, and for the choice we assume responsibility. The most common mistake made in history as in personal life is the failure to see alternatives or to oversimplify them. "Among the most poignant tragedies of history are those in which men have cried impossible! too soon." Professor Hook restores a sane philosophy of human self-respect and freedom, as against the predetermined fatality of a wave of the future or of an inescapable revolution with which some writers frightened the wits out of many democrats and liberals only a short time ago. Even if man be regarded only as an instrument in the process of history, Professor Hook reminds us that instruments may be used for different purposes and that in any case man has something to say about these purposes. Intelligent and responsible action in history "consists in being aware of the relevant ifs and might-be's in the present, and choosing between alternatives in the light of predictable consequences." If we miss our chance by choosing wrongly, the door is in most cases not closed to future choice, but future choices are narrowed "to alternatives that are all relatively unfavorable in comparison with earlier possibilities." The history of the democracies in the last years offers a test case for this thesis.

The book is written in an easy and lively style, without any technical or professionally philosophical discussions, and will be read with interest and profit by students of history as well as by the general public.

*Smith College*

HANS KOHN

**ADMIRAL OF THE OCEAN SEA: A LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.** By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. Two volumes. [An Atlantic Monthly Press Book.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1942. Pp. xlv, 448; vi, 445. \$10.00. One-volume edition, \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Morison builds his admirable book on three bases. The first is his intention, announced in the first lines of the introduction, of answering two questions: "This book arose out of a desire to know exactly where Columbus sailed on his Four Voyages, and what sort of seaman he was." The second is his choice of sources. The third is the use to which he puts his retracing of the voyages of Columbus. Finding his answers, choosing his literary sources, and making the sea part of his evidence do not mean a restriction of interest and subject matter on his part. Rather do they indicate what in the great mass of available material he chooses to emphasize and the points on which he lavishes his skill as a writer of history.

What Mr. Morison wishes to know about Columbus allows him to dispose at

once of that dreary thing, the Columbus Question, which is familiar as the enormous mass of nationalistic interpretations and contentious research based, as a rule, on written materials only. Mr. Morison's treatment of the question is admirable: he ignores it as irrelevant to the main problem of where Columbus went and of how good a seaman he was, as, indeed, much of it is. Such a proceeding on his part is not cavalier. It is reasonable and thoughtfully done and has the profitable effect of clarifying the bibliography on Columbus. As a consequence the book is largely free from negative refutation of ancient and modern theses and controversies. Instead, it proceeds positively and constructively, as illustrated, for instance, by the discussion of the nationality of Columbus, to examine the sources and to conclude that the run of the evidence indicates that Columbus was Genoese. To the thousands of suppositions, claims, and arguments to the contrary, Mr. Morison says, in effect, "So what?"

From among the available sources Mr. Morison chooses first the writings of Columbus himself and the Spanish and other documentary material. As for writings about Columbus, "*Contemporanea expositio fortissima est*," he says with Justice Coke, and relies principally on Ferdinand Columbus, Las Casas, Peter Martyr, and Oviedo. The passage (I, 67-75) in which he explains his choice is required reading for students of the Columbian sources.

Mr. Morison at sea is unbeatable and his work definitive. The sea and the land seen from the sea, taken with his exhaustive study of the written sources, answer his questions. He identifies nearly all the place names mentioned by Columbus, and the location of the few that escape precise determination is fixed as closely as possible. By sailing in the wake of the Admiral, with one eye on the compass and the other on the sources, Mr. Morison finds Columbus to be one of the great navigators of history. His case is clearly demonstrated. Chapters of outstanding lucidity instruct even readers somewhat acquainted with the water in the problems of sailing, of handling a ship, and of navigation that confronted Columbus and provide the bases for independent judgment. The emphasis that Mr. Morison rightly places on dead reckoning and on Columbus' skill as a dead-reckoning sailor makes some of the most impressive of his pages.

The sea, in addition, has a subtle but definite part in forming in Mr. Morison's and the reader's minds an impression of what sort of man Columbus was. Chapter v, "The Man Columbus," offers a picture of him largely in the words of people who had seen him. He was, says Mr. Morison, a man with a mission, always with God, and his defects "were the defects of the qualities that made him a great historical figure." But this is abstract and for a stronger impression the reader should go to the description of the voyages. At various points, usually well described by Mr. Morison, the reader sees what the Admiral does, what decision he takes, how he conducts himself and leads his men. The seamanship of Columbus, against the background of the ships, the islands, and always the sea, casts the clearest light on the sort of man he was.

These matters and many others are presented in a style of extraordinary interest, for Mr. Morison is an inventive stylist who knows how to fit his words to his subject. Where the argument is close, there the words are exact and defined. Descriptions of sailing and navigation use the proper nautical terms, but with ample translations into landlubber's English and with sketches and diagrams that make entirely clear what is under discussion. Always vigorous, often colloquial, and sometimes slangy, the style flashes and sparkles easily through exposition and narrative. When the reader is to know what the ocean looked like, how this cape or that bay appeared from the sea, the words flow together into impressions and pictures of wonderful color and form. Mr. Morison himself is the best proof of his statement that the true sailor is not blind to the aesthetics of the ocean.

The vigor of language reflects a vigor of thought that fixes the reader's critical attention on what is being said. Because Mr. Morison pulls no punches, he occasionally overstates his case, and, indeed, some of the general propositions and solutions to controversies that he suggests should be questioned and debated. For instance, he makes the return of Columbus in 1493 the first ray of a dawn that awakened old, tired Europe from its gloom, fatigue, and decay and gave it a future. This dramatic scene he then contradicts within a few pages by his detailed and lively account of the energy, enterprise, and anything but gloom of the people among whom Columbus passed his youth. Vespucci and the interrelations of his travels and those of other explorers with the discoveries of Columbus are dismissed briefly, almost negligently. Occasionally the explanation of Columbus' motives and behavior in the later voyages is not satisfactory. But these criticisms and others are of details. The main impression is of the size and solidity of Mr. Morison's accomplishment. Quite aside from the great value of his actual findings, he has done historians the service of demonstrating what is relevant to the study of Columbus and what is not, of insisting on reasonable use of the sources, and of indicating just the few secondary works that are necessary to an understanding of Columbus and his work.

*Washington, D. C.*

ALEXANDER MARCHANT

A SHORT HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION. By *Henry S. Lucas*, Professor of European History, University of Washington. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1943. Pp. ix, 994. \$4.50.)

FROM many points of view this book, based on the contents of an elementary course in the history of civilization as given for the past six years at the University of Washington, is admirable. It is well written. It contains numerous striking and interesting quotations, many of them in verse, contemporary to the periods or subjects being discussed. Throughout there is evident a deep appreciation of culture and a sympathetic understanding of events. Judgments are expressed without dogmatism. The sections on oriental developments, medieval and modern inven-

tions and techniques, medical and sanitary advances, and the rise of the social studies are unusually good and complete.

The illustrations are numerous and well chosen, although they seem not always to have been placed in the most appropriate positions. Or was it, perhaps, whimsicality that led to the insertion of a picture labeled "Modernistic interior" between two sections of text entitled, respectively, "The Totalitarian State and Its Future" and "The Second World War"? The suggestions for further reading are slim but useful, and the general format of the volume is pleasing.

In his preface Professor Lucas states: "The point of view throughout is that of the historian of culture. Political, social, and economic phenomena have been properly subordinated to general cultural development." It is only on this score of selection for an introductory course that one may well take issue with the author. There is much to be said for shifting some of the emphasis in such courses from the customary planes to that of culture. But is the net result greatly improved, in a thousand-page volume covering the history of civilization from pre-historic times to 1943, by omitting Metternich, Francis Joseph, and Atatürk, while devoting a whole paragraph to Paul Verlaine and explaining that he was a vagabond and wastrel, fickle in religious faith, who was condemned to two years in prison for having fired a pistol at another symbolist?

What is gained by an emphasis which, in an introductory course, finds room in the index for the *Hungarian Rhapsodies* but not for the kingdom of Hungary? Why should Gabriel Lippmann get as much space as Queen Elizabeth, and post-Impressionism as much attention as the League of Nations? Will it be of much value to the elementary student to find, on one page, the names of fourteen "realistic" novels and plays, and, on another, a reproduction of a surrealist painting sandwiched in between the names and works of nine musical composers? These things, admittedly, are matters of opinion; for those who share Professor Lucas' viewpoint this book makes an outstanding contribution.

*Union College*

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM

THE CONQUEST OF EPIDEMIC DISEASES: A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *Charles-Edward Amory Winslow*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 411. \$4.50.)

On the thesis that the study of the evolution of thought gives the clearest insight into man's conduct Professor Winslow has attempted to portray the conquest of epidemic disease by analyzing the evolution of the concept of contagion. Beginning with the demonistic ideas of primitive man, epidemiologic thought is traced through its various stages of development to the present bacteriological era.

As a mere history of the concept of contagion this volume presents nothing new, but as a critical semi-documentary analysis it marks a distinctive contribu-



tion to the history of epidemiology. The author makes no pretense of original investigation or even of examination of representative documents in selection of material for his earlier chapters. Rather has he chosen to rely, perhaps too much, on extensive quotations from present-day writers who have confined their researches to these earlier periods. One might have wished that Professor Winslow had attempted his own interpretation rather than leading the reader to view the scene so much through the eyes of a third person.

The bulk of the volume, however, is based on study of representative writings that not only set forth the prevailing concepts of an era but have also influenced contemporary thought. The reader is conducted through a brief, carefully guided tour of the writings of Paracelsus, Fracastorius, Kircher, Leeuwenhoek, Sydenham, Mead, Rush, Webster, Chadwick, Snow, Budd, Pasteur, Pettenkofer, and Chapin, as well as of many others who have shaped epidemiologic doctrine. The author attempts to reveal both the concepts and the underlying thought. The controversies that raged throughout the centuries are presented in proper perspective. In this critical analysis and summarization of the documentary evidence Professor Winslow is at his best.

In spite of its title the volume is not, however, a discussion of the conquest of disease. In fact, the author openly disclaims any such intention when he states that "with Pasteur's last and greatest work, the discovery of the principles of acquired immunity and the development of practical methods of producing such immunity by artificial means, we are not concerned in the present discussion." Certainly one cannot ignore the role of immunization in any comprehensive discussion of the actual conquest of disease. The author leaves the reader to infer that knowledge of the *modus operandi* of infection implies conquest. Unfortunately, this is not always the case, as witnessed by our present inability to control many diseases, the cause and mode of spread of which are clearly recognized.

This limitation as to the scope of the volume does not, however, affect its potential usefulness. Professor Winslow has presented the clearest portrayal yet available of the evolution of the concept of contagion and by liberal use of quotation and paraphrase has made it possible for the student who lacks ready access to original sources to gain new insight into the history of the idea of contagion.

Washington, D. C.

GAYLORD W. ANDERSON

#### THE ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

By *C. Grove Haines*, Syracuse University, and *Ross J. S. Hoffman*, Fordham University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. 659. \$3.25.)

THE publishers will do the world a disservice if they publicize this volume only as a textbook. Here is a vivid and dramatic story of our age. It is an enlightening, indeed a shocking, experience for any reader to re-examine at one time the cumu-

lated record of our generation, to feel again the impact of portentous events and the agony of fateful decisions. Because we know the end, the dramatic action is the more stark and the fumbling, confusion, and deliberate obscurantism the more tragic. For the good of the nation one may wish this book great success.

Writing contemporary history is a venturesome act, to use the historical cliché, because "records are not yet available," but the authors have sufficient confidence in themselves to believe they know the broad outline correctly and they avoid that continuing debate with themselves which is fatal to clarity and incisive style. The result is interpretation with which all will not agree but which all will understand. The post-Versailles position of France was rational and correct, in view of the world power situation. The German-Russian pact was the last and greatest "appeasement." The defeat of 1918 was a military defeat for Germany and the settlement, although severe, was not the cause of Hitlerism. America's policy, characterized by dabbling and interference plus a refusal to accept responsibility, is summed up in Hoover, who was "sentimental of head and materialistic of heart." The "red" boggy, raised by Hitler, came after Russia had actually accommodated herself to the state system and thus after danger had passed. The clerical and political support of Franco was an unjustifiable error.

The opening chapter makes a bow in the direction of the Hayes thesis, which describes the century before 1914 as the age of materialism, suffering the twin evils of liberalism and secularism. The next three chapters describe the first World War, the peace, and the peace organization.

The thesis of the volume is simple. Victory in 1918 represented a control of power which the Versailles Treaty and associated treaties assumed would continue. Actually, the United States and Russia withdrew completely; Great Britain and Italy for diverse reasons partially refused commitments, and thus the actual power situation was at variance with the political and legal settlement, with an ultimately disastrous result. With the world structure attacked by the discontented nations (here not confused with "have-not" nations) the policy of appeasement in both east and west was inevitable and as inevitably doomed. The emphasis in this volume is where it should be, on power as such, not confused by moralistic judgments or deterministic inevitability.

The writing is clear and forceful and well organized to report the synonymous events occurring in the world's three-ringed circus—with inter-activity between the rings. Neither strictly chronological nor narrowly topical, the chapters show surprisingly little duplication of material. Three chapters deal with the United States and its world position. The bibliographies for each chapter are full, well selected, and contain critical notes. The maps are adequate.

*Wayne University*

RAYMOND C. MILLER

THIS AGE OF CONFLICT: A CONTEMPORARY WORLD HISTORY, 1914-1943. By *Frank P. Chambers*, *Christina Phelps Grant*, Associate Professor of History, Bryn Mawr College, and *Charles C. Bayley*, Assistant Professor of History, McGill University. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1943. Pp. xviii, 856, xciii. \$5.00.)

It is a pleasure to read and a privilege to review as brilliant a book as *This Age of Conflict*, the story of our times from the first World War to the present. The authors, all three specialists in their own fields of history, not only unravel the twisted and torn threads of international relations during the last thirty years but succeed in presenting the period as a historic whole. One of the greatest assets of the book, over and above the clarity of organization and the detached, scholarly approach to even the most controversial issues, is the unity achieved by the fluent style which seems to come from Mr. Chambers' masterly pen.

The authors do not follow the customary practice of excluding or treating only on the periphery the role of the Near East and the Far East in international relations. They almost apologize in the preface for having given more space to the Near East than the international importance of those areas might warrant. As concise and objective a presentation is hard to find in any language, and the student of history will be glad to have the issues discussed by an author who knows how to weed out propaganda and nationalist diatribes.

Another chapter often neglected in general histories on the postwar era is that on the effects of American isolationism and Pan-Americanism on the political equilibrium of Europe. The authors call isolationism the central theme of American foreign policy after 1919, a statement which unfortunately is irrefutable. There are some references to President Wilson's failure to draw the United States into the League which may be considered too critical of some of Wilson's idiosyncrasies by some readers.

Although the book covers a wide field and consists of contributions by three authors, it is neither textbook-like nor repetitious. A very useful system of cross references aids the reader in finding a subject discussed elsewhere in the book. Footnotes, a brief bibliography, and an appendix containing pertinent documents are included at the end of the book.

In conclusion it should be said again that this masterpiece in co-operation excels in critical judgment and may be used to advantage by students of history and read with ease by everyone interested in finding out about this tragic and yet great age in which we are living.

*Vassar College*

ALMA LUCKAU

## Modern European History

THE REFORMATION REFUGEES AS AN ECONOMIC FORCE. By *Fredrick A. Norwood*. [Studies in Church History, Vol. V.] (Chicago: American Society of Church History. 1942. Pp. ix, 206. \$3.00.)

THIS work is not so much an attempt to seek out new facts on a subject of great interest and some timeliness as it is an effort to bring together material to be found in printed form but not readily available, since it is scattered through a wide variety of works, ranging from economic monographs to county histories.

The first chapter deals with the communities of refugees, mainly Calvinists, both Walloon and Flemish, driven in the last half of the sixteenth century from the southern Netherlands by Spanish persecution. Geographically the refugee communities established themselves in a great crescent facing west on the map of Europe. With one tip at Barnstaple, it swung through southwestern England, the northern Netherlands, and the Rhineland to the other tip at Geneva, but the outer edge of the curve lay as far east as Hamburg and Nürnberg.

The ensuing chapters discuss the economic and political problems faced by the refugees and the effects of their presence in alien cities. Their experience in England is treated in some detail. Less space is given to the German centers and still less to those in Switzerland and the Netherlands. Though there was much variation, the refugees were, in general, welcomed at the start. Then their vigorous economic activity awakened opposition, frequently from the lower classes, and guild regulations or old restrictions on foreigners were invoked against them. Some cities they left. In others, particularly smaller towns, like Frankenthal, where they formed a majority of the population, they became solidly entrenched and even built up restrictions like those to which they objected elsewhere. To most cities the refugees gave a great economic stimulus, for they came from an area that had developed advanced techniques and they brought with them new skills (notably in the textile industry) and habits of thrift and energy.

At the end of the book the author takes up the moot question of the relationship of Calvinism to capitalism. He concludes that the refugees built up the economic strength of both England and Switzerland and as vigorous minority groups helped to break down old restraints. Insofar as Calvinism was associated with the rise of capitalism, the refugees were probably peculiarly influential, since, by circumstance, they were selected so as to be far above the average in religious zeal, in courage, and in steadfastness.

As a whole the work is an admirable and judicious presentation of important material, and the author's conclusions are both careful and enlightening. The only unfavorable comments to be made are two—both of a minor nature. First, the style is at times stiff and awkward and it has little color or life. Second, the author might well have translated some of the long quotations which he scattered freely

through both the text and the footnotes. Most readers will not object to the archaic English. Many will be able to handle the sixteenth century French and German and even the Latin and Italian. But most will boggle at the old Dutch.

Columbia University

CHARLES WOOLSEY COLE

FRENCH MERCANTILISM, 1683-1700. By *Charles Woolsey Cole*, Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 354. \$4.25.)

"THE statesmen who succeeded Colbert continued to be mercantilists almost of necessity . . . [for] much that Colbert had done was of a self-perpetuating nature" (p. 269). Import duties were constantly raised (except for a slight check in 1699), and some attempts were made to remove or lower internal customs barriers. Guilds were encouraged; industrial regulations were extended, regularized, and made more meticulous; overseas trading companies continued to be maintained in part by government support; crude bullionist legislation was still upheld and even extended; and agricultural problems actually were accorded some consideration. Nevertheless, the men who assumed control after 1683 frequently departed from the Colbertian path. This probably resulted more from a lack of imagination and initiative on their part than from studied intent. They allowed the French navy to decline; they paid scant attention to new lines of production and made little effort to attract foreign workers equipped with new industrial skills and techniques; they neglected the luxury industries which Colbert had sought so diligently to encourage; and they succeeded in slowing down the tempo of technological change by their constant efforts to maintain the industrial *status quo*.

This comparison of mercantilist policies and practices during 1683-1700 with those perfected by Colbert engages the major part of Professor Cole's attention in the first four chapters of his book. In chapter v he is concerned with the early rumblings of discontent with certain aspects of government interference in economic matters and suggests that Boisguilbert, the contemporary exponent of laissez-faire ideas, was important more as a symptom than as an influence (p. 234). The real discontent welled from private business circles and became distinctly audible among the members of the Council of Commerce after 1700. His concluding chapter, correctly entitled "Speculations and Hypotheses," contains nine possible explanations for (interpretations of?) the rise, decline, and recent renaissance of "mercantilism" in western civilization. In this reviewer's opinion, however, the main contributions of this book to the present store of economico-historical knowledge lie in its first four chapters.

Professor Cole and many other economic historians who have worked extensively with the papers of French intendants and government officials concede that such documents often call for circumspect attention. If an intendant's report or

a government edict states that a certain tax, regulation, or dearth of wheat caused unmitigated ruin to whole towns or provinces, the historian may well be justified in considering it only as a revelation of a *tendency* rather than an accurate description of the real situation. The true state of French economic (and, especially, industrial) affairs, therefore, cannot always be ascertained from a relatively small number of government documents alone. On the other hand, such papers are of inestimable value in limning the trend of government policy. This difference in the reliability of the chief sources utilized in the present volume, however, does not seem to have been kept clearly in mind at all times. The reviewer has long thought that the effect which the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had upon French economic life, for example, may have been grossly exaggerated in the reports of intendants and local Jeremiahs. Undoubtedly the political and religious blunder accentuated the long depression which heralded the close of Louis XIV's reign, but careful investigation in the future may yet reveal the need for some modification of such conclusions as the one Professor Cole draws. Of the two factors which appear to him chiefly responsible for the impairment of French industry after 1683, he writes, "More serious, perhaps, and certainly more permanent than the difficulties arising from the war, were those resulting from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes" (p. 113).

At least one other of his conclusions may merit comment, if for no other reason, simply because the opposite view has been held by some. "There was also [during 1683-1700]," he writes on page 116, "as in the later years of the great minister, an increasing reluctance to grant unusual privileges, save for establishments demonstrably novel and a growing unwillingness to grant monopolies in any circumstance." This may have been true, but the case presented by Professor Cole is not conclusive because the fundamental problem involved is not as simple as he assumes. Even though "the opposition to excessive privileges appeared at various levels in the administrative system," monopoly charters *were* granted (in both old and new industries); and certainly after 1700 almost anyone in France could get a complete monopoly within a limited area and obtain the pompous title of *Manufacture royale* for his establishment. Throughout both the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries exclusive privileges were granted to some producers in both old and new lines of endeavor while being denied to others; and at the same time the merits of competition were extolled by various officials from Colbert on down. Hence the significant question as to the trend of state policy in this particular regard must be phrased in somewhat the following terms: Was the *relative* number of requests for monopoly charters which were turned down by government officials greater or less in 1683-1700 than in either the preceding or the following period? And the answer will still have to be "corrected" by some sort of an index of the number of novel industries undertaken during each period.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

WARREN C. SCOVILLE

THE LETTERS OF DOCTOR GEORGE CHEYNE TO SAMUEL RICHARDSON (1733-1743). Edited with an Introduction by *Charles F. Mullett*, Professor of History. [The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XVIII, no. 1.] (Columbia: University of Missouri. 1943. Pp. 137.)

THE last letter written by Dr. Cheyne to the novelist Richardson concluded with the request that "When your Family Affairs are settled and the Parliament up I wish you would work your harmless Head less and your dirty Feet more." Here, in somewhat piquant phrasing, was the essence of the advice which the physician repeatedly extended to his distinguished patient in a continuous correspondence lasting through the decade 1734-43. Mr. Richardson was urged to lighten his mental labors, indulge in more exercise, and live exclusively on a diet of milk and vegetables. He should employ drugs and bleeding sparingly and avoid doctors at all costs. Cheyne knew this was sound advice, for he had resorted to it successfully when his own weight had risen to the interesting figure of 475 pounds and his spirits had declined in inverse proportion. But the doctor's program reflected more than his own experience; it was an expression of the increasing concern with personal hygiene which was characteristic of the eighteenth century.

Professor Mullett has edited this interesting correspondence with care and provided it with an introduction which is modest in its claims but of distinct value in the interpretation of the letters. As he points out, few physicians have been honored by the publication of their correspondence, and medical history has been the poorer for the lack of this type of source material. In the present instance Dr. Cheyne's letters reveal a coexistence of professional attitudes which were not easily reconciled but which were harbored simultaneously by some of the abler physicians of his time: namely, the acceptance of a traditional but rather meaningless theoretical pathology and a sensible hygienic program based upon purely empirical grounds. Cheyne did much to further this latter program, directly through the many editions of his *Essay of Health and Long Life* (first edition, London, 1724) and indirectly through the influence which this and his other writings exerted on later publications. John Wesley's popular *Primitive Physick*, for example, was admittedly based upon the *Essay* noted.

As Mr. Mullett observes, Cheyne's letters are also of interest because of his wide acquaintance with distinguished English figures of his day and because of the light thrown upon prevailing literary tastes and practices. His formulae for the ideal novel—submitted to Richardson so that the latter could improve on *Pamela*—are altogether delightful (pp. 67 ff.). The novelist, incidentally, must have been something of a hypochondriac; at any rate, his constant complaints must be blamed—rather than Cheyne himself—for the monotonous insistence on the virtues of milk and water. The doctor's own complaints were directed not toward infirmities but in the direction of the booksellers. His troubles with these gentry—"all more or less Curls"—illustrate the difficulties of authors in that age.

*University of Pennsylvania*

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK



THE YEARS OF ENDURANCE, 1793-1802. By *Arthur Bryant*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1942. Pp. xiv, 375. \$3.50.)

A CERTAIN trepidation is in order when one tackles a book that appears to be based on the assumption that history repeats itself, even though the author is as experienced as Arthur Bryant. Finding a chapter headed "The Failure of Appeasement," one fears the worst. Nevertheless, it is by no means as bad as it might have been and the author succeeds in building up a remarkable parallel without too much inaccuracy or wrong emphasis. There are pitfalls always in such an approach but the author only tumbles in occasionally.

The spectacle of an embattled Britain, facing alone in 1940 the might of a Continental conqueror, inspired the author to write the story of another age when Britain stood firm against the might of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. In each case the storm broke on an unprepared Britain; muddles, blunders, and incompetence were common to both crises. For Winston Churchill read William Pitt; for the Nazis substitute the Jacobins. So far so good. But in spite of Mr. Bryant's awareness of the danger in pressing an analogy too hard he does so nonetheless. He is at his worst in dealing with the Jacobins, whom he regards as uniformly "sub-human," sadists who rejoiced in brutal violence. Against such men the Galahads of England, whose hearts were moderately pure and whose strength therefore was, as it needed to be, as the strength of five or six if not ten, struggled to preserve civilization. The author's grotesque conception of the Jacobins is a good example of straining the parallel: at all costs they must look like Nazis. Far too much reliance has been placed on Madelin. As for Mathiez, the reader must assume Mr. Bryant has never heard of him.

Such criticism, however, ought not to obscure the fact that after all the author's theme is England and her endurance in the midst of troubles. Some parts are excellent and others are dull. The chapters that deal with the social background in England are among the best and most readable and illustrate the author's powers of synthesis. But when he launches into lengthy and detailed descriptions of Continental military operations this reviewer found him merely boring. The detailed discussions of naval operations fall into the same category, in spite of the author's proper emphasis on the supreme importance of sea power. The financial side of the story is well enough handled but the significance of the Industrial Revolution is hardly touched. The author promises a sequel which will take his story down to the fall of Napoleon. If the sequel measures up to this volume, he will not—on balance—have wasted his time.

There is an index of names and places but, on account of the paper shortage, no bibliography. Some occasional footnotes are to be found.

*University of Washington*

C. EDEN QUAINTON

THE PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

By *Helen E. Witmer*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 498.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 245. \$2.75.)

IN 1647, when the soldiers of Cromwell's victorious army expressed to a group of officers their views on parliamentary representation, they started a perennial debate. The officers, from Cromwell down, were profoundly shocked by their claim that every man who breathed English air was entitled to a vote. Propertyless men, the officers maintained, would elect propertyless men who might even "enact a law, that there shall be an equality of goods and estate."

The plea for manhood suffrage was deferred until English workers became class conscious, but the fear of legislation by men who had no "stake in the country" resounded down the centuries. The argument was developed at length in the days of the Country party. Under the later Stuarts the Tories took it over. They conceived a plan for making the house of commons an assembly of Tory squires. In 1710-11 they secured the enactment of a law which made the possession of a minimum amount of landed property a requirement for members of parliament.

It is the history of this act that Dr. Witmer has written. The book is a solid, well-documented piece of work, based on all the accessible printed material. The author shows that the act, once passed, ceased to be a party affair. Candidates of both parties were seated on the basis of fictitious qualifications. Supplementary measures for the enforcement of the act proved of no avail. Great landed proprietors lent parcels of land to relatives and friends for campaigning purposes; government money purchased fictitious qualifications for supporters of the ministry of the moment. Pitt, Sheridan, Burke, Fox, and Channing seem to have been fictitiously qualified.

Since the measure did not inconvenience the politicians, and since it preserved under the fiction of control by the landed interests the reality of control by the propertied class, the measure long survived the attacks of its critics. The substitution of personal for landed property was made legal in 1838. That same year the abolition of all property qualifications was demanded in the People's Charter. Thenceforth agitation outside parliament reinforced the arguments of determined opponents of the act within. Repeal was precipitated in true British fashion by an event which had nothing to do with argument. In 1857 a disqualified candidate was turned over to the courts, found guilty, and imprisoned for making a false declaration. Public opinion was disturbed at the spectacle of one man sitting in jail and one hundred sitting in parliament by virtue of identical actions. The act was repealed the following year, amid the same prophecies that Cromwell's officers had made in 1647.

Dr. Witmer's summaries of the arguments in speeches spread over 150 years are among the most valuable features of her book. She points no moral. Perhaps a reviewer may be permitted to do so. The argument for the defense never

changed. Always a few men of substance dissented from the view that they were the people and wisdom would die with them, but they were hopelessly in the minority. The repeal of the act did not mean that the British had given up believing that the bond between property and political integrity was indissoluble. Property qualifications for voters lingered long, and there is still the house of lords. It is the occasional Englishman who is irked by the slowness of the evolutionary process.

Vassar College

LOUISE FARGO BROWN

NAPOLEON III: AN INTERPRETATION. By *Albert Guérard*. [Makers of Modern Europe, edited by Donald C. McKay, in association with Dumas Malone.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 338. \$3.50.)

Two of the main historical interpretations of the Second Empire and its enigmatic ruler originated with writings of the period: Karl Marx's and Victor Hugo's violent and certainly unjust diatribes on the one hand and, on the other, Proudhon's strange book *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'Etat*, asserting that Louis Bonaparte could not help but bring about the social revolution in France.

Mr. Guérard sides definitely with Proudhon. In a chapter entitled "Saint-Simon on Horseback" the economic policy of the empire is appraised as tinged with practical socialism, because its "well planned prosperity" headed toward a vast expansion of free or at least cheap credit. Even more emphasis is laid on the plebiscitarian character of the empire, which is considered as tantamount to a genuine "direct democracy." While he does not entirely neglect the "policeman" in Napoleon III, Mr. Guérard considers as far more important the "sincere belief" of the emperor that democracy and Bonapartism were one and the same thing. The author takes pains to explain that the many ventures in which Napoleon III found himself side by side with the reactionary forces of France and Europe were tragic accidents in which the emperor was caught and which made him, quite against his will, "appear far more conservative than he had any intention to be."

Mr. Guérard's interpretation is interesting throughout; it affords many a brilliant side remark on the general structure of France. But evidently the author's research, however careful it may have been, was *ab initio* influenced by the main theses of the book. It corresponds to the picture of Louis Bonaparte as a generous and plebiscitarian democrat to present his first election as a deputy as a result of the confidence of the masses. Consequently there is no mention of the fact that even *before* the June insurrection a vicious Bonapartist propaganda had sprung up whose violent and purely demagogic socialist taint was infected with vile anti-Semitism. It is now certain that Bonapartist agents had a hand in provoking the insurrection that was so instrumental in causing the downfall of the republic.

Under Mr. Guérard's pen the *coup d'état* becomes almost a democratic operation. The barricade fighting in Paris is dismissed as a mere blunder, although Maupas' memoirs leave no doubt that Louis Bonaparte himself was determined to crush resistance by any means. The fact that in many parts of rural France the peasants engaged in a desperate and prolonged struggle is simply not mentioned.

A one-page excursus is devoted to the attitude of the working class toward the empire. With genuine astonishment the author must admit that this class, which the emperor was "most anxious to benefit," never understood him. For Mr. Guérard the cause of this "absurdity" lies in the fact that the working population thought in political, not in economic, terms. The very interesting periodic reports (entirely neglected by the author) in which the advocates general of the empire described the attitude of the inhabitants of their resorts attest to the contrary. Because the "prosperity" which Mr. Guérard detects was never a planned one and actually resulted in a lowering of the standard of living of the masses, the working population in the cities and even in the countryside never took seriously the "socialist tinge" of the emperor. That they nonetheless cast their ballots at the plebiscites in favor of the empire should be reason enough to be critical of the identification of plebiscites and democracy in which Mr. Guérard indulges.

His explanation of why the Second Empire, unlike modern regimes, refrained from totalitarianism does not take into account the fact that in a less highly organized society less interference by a dictatorial regime was needed. To recommend for the France of tomorrow, as Mr. Guérard does, a return to the constitution of 1852 might well be considered a strange suggestion. It is true that this proposal appears to be based on a historical misinterpretation.

*Washington, D. C.*

HENRY W. EHLMANN

RAYMOND POINCARÉ AND THE FRENCH PRESIDENCY. By *Gordon Wright*. [The Hoover Library of War, Revolution, and Peace, Publication No. 19.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 271. \$3.50.)

In this admirable study Professor Wright has applied the techniques of historical research with the purpose of answering a simple but important question in the field of modern constitutional government: What happens when a vigorous, strong-willed, law-abiding statesman occupies a narrowly circumscribed executive office? The author's conclusion, based upon a judicious examination of all the evidence now available, is that while Raymond Poincaré at times strained the juridical boundaries of the French presidency he left the office substantially as he had found it. The strength he gave to the office by his incessant assertion of the prerogative of influence and suggestion did not outlast his personal incumbency of the post.

During the dramatic period of Poincaré's residence at the Elysée he was guilty, by his own admission, of only one aberration from strict legality—when he wrote “a private letter to Ambassador Paleologue in St. Petersburg outlining France's Near Eastern policy as he saw it, and showing how that policy conflicted with the Russian designs.” Having a legalistic mind, Poincaré “abhorred any infringement upon the strict letter of the constitution.” Despite frequent temptations to combine political power with political irresponsibility, especially during the weak premierships of the earlier war years, the president swallowed his pride and eventually called “The Tiger,” his bitterest political enemy, to the reins of government when a grave national crisis dictated this course of action.

Professor Wright's appraisal of Poincaré's personality re-emphasizes an already familiar picture of an intelligent, somewhat stubborn, basically honest man, “abnormally sensitive to criticism” and devoid of much imagination. On the controversial issue of Poincaré's role in foreign policy, however, the author flatly contends that there is no shred of proof that the president, although an ardent nationalist, was “a warmonger,” desiring and working for “a war of revenge” (p. 27). Yet, at another point in the story (p. 141), the admission is made that if Poincaré had exerted his influence during the crisis of 1914 “in a different direction it is conceivable that war might have been avoided.”

This reviewer would like to pay special tribute to Professor Wright's modesty and restraint. Although his study takes account of all accessible manuscript materials, newspapers, memoirs, diaries, and official documents, as well as personal interviews with and letters from available contemporaries of Poincaré, the author does not claim to have written a definitive account of the Poincaré presidency. Indeed, the paucity of source material on the behind-the-scenes operation of the office probably renders any definitive judgment impossible. This scantiness of the record helps to explain why the leading constitutional jurists of the Third Republic—Esmein, Duguit, Barthélemy—have disagreed as to the president's role in cabinet meetings and other matters of state.

*College of the City of New York*

WALTER R. SHARP

SURVEY OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS. Volume II, PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC POLICY, 1918-1939. Part 2. By *W. K. Hancock*, Professor of History in the University of Birmingham; Former Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 355. \$5.00.)

THIS third and concluding volume of Professor Hancock's masterly and monumental *Survey* contains two long chapters and a review, the former dealing with the settlers' and traders' frontiers in South and West Africa, respectively. Each chapter sets the area treated into its historical perspective and gives a detailed analysis of its present problems. In South Africa, the “white man's country,” the natives outnumber the whites by three to one; and, as the author shows, neither

segregation nor assimilation is a solution for the critical race conflict. But the facts and figures (quite impossible to summarize here) and the economic forces back of them are the main concern of the historian. Yet he insists that the welfare of the non-European South Africans must be fostered, even at cost to the government, since the collaboration of all, whether Europeans, natives, Indians, or colored, in the daily work of the region is inevitable and inseparable.

In West Africa, more directly, the problem lies in working out the principle of trusteeship in economic terms. This principle, implied in the mandates of the League of Nations, was newly defined in words in the famous White Paper presented to parliament in February, 1940, which declared that "the primary aim of Colonial policy is to protect and advance the interests of the inhabitants of the colonies." But, as Professor Hancock points out, the trusteeship here implied is a dual one, with obligations not only to the backward peoples of the areas concerned but to the commerce of the world which needs what they can produce. In short, peace and impartial justice and law and order are not enough in the government of dependencies. The principle of trusteeship needs to be interpreted in economic and social as well as in political terms, and minimum standards of welfare must be imposed and maintained for the good of all.

In the conception of the welfare of nations there is hope. It offers a new stimulus to take the place of the moving frontiers (of the nineteenth century). . . . A struggle to raise the standard of the depressed classes and the depressed areas of the world could have a dynamic effect comparable with the discovery of a new America. . . . The America of an earlier hope no longer exists to-day—that empty America remote from Europe, the land of promise, of escape from European evil. . . . Here, among the slums of western Europe and the crowded peasantries of eastern Europe, in backward Africa and impoverished China, a vast work of development and welfare is waiting to be done; here are the markets to be opened; here is the new way to wealth. If [it] is resolutely followed, the door of equal opportunity will open once again; for the multitudinous tasks which challenge effort—tasks of soil conservation and agricultural training, medical service and nutrition, education and transport and industrial development—call for an expenditure too large for the resources of a single imperial nation. Trusteeship on behalf of backward and neglected peoples, when it is given a positive economic content, will demand . . . positive international collaboration.

These words have wide implications. It is to be hoped that they may soon be implemented, under the leadership of Professor Hancock's countrymen, not only in the "dark continent" but in other areas now subject to economic imperialism.

*Willamette University*

R. I. LOVELL

THE GOEBBELS EXPERIMENT: A STUDY OF THE NAZI PROPAGANDA MACHINE. By *Derrick Sington* and *Arthur Weidenfeld*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 274. \$3.00.)

The psychological and social results of propaganda campaigns, especially those that achieve conspicuous success, will claim the attention of lay readers. Couple

the fall of France with "the strategy of terror" and a best seller is the result. The general reader can be astonished and even horrified (as in the tale of an arch-criminal) when a book unfolds the real or alleged achievements of seemingly clever or diabolical symbol manipulators, but he may remain bored and unmoved if the recital of a propaganda campaign trudges through the details of the machinery and organization that, first of all, must be in full working order before vivid symbols can be unloosed.

Fortunate either layman or student of propaganda who has at his disposal significant studies of propaganda describing policy, techniques, machinery, and results, all within the covers of one book. Peter Odegard's *Pressure Politics*, the analysis of a peacetime campaign, is a prime example of analysis of all these. Mock and Larson's *Words That Won the War* emphasized the machinery of organization as well as other aspects of a wartime campaign. Perhaps we can't expect very many analysts to cover all phases of a major propaganda effort, but it is to be hoped that, failing this, more future attention will be given to an aspect that is too often neglected: how the machinery of propaganda is set up, how each division of the organization functions, what the personnel is, how success or failure depends upon the engine of propaganda that generates the symbols.

Sington and Weidenfeld can't be expected to interest the general reader and they may disappoint the expert, since *The Goebbels Experiment* is primarily an analysis and description of the organization of Nazi party and Nazi state propaganda. If the expert only skims the book, he may assume a familiarity with much of the material dealt with. But let him not be deceived. When the detailed blueprint of the engine of Nazi propaganda is spread out before him and he takes care really to examine it, interrelations among the various propaganda weapons will be discovered that have escaped him heretofore.

The general impression a reader receives is that the Nazis are unwilling to risk failure of their propaganda schemes through weak or faulty organization.

The volume begins with a short outline of Nazi propaganda operations from 1918 to 1932: all a well-known story perhaps, but it's the first link in the chain. Part II, the real heart of the book, describes the Nazi party propaganda department. The press of the party comes next, then the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, "the motor of the whole German propaganda machine," and finally the Reich Chamber of Culture is outlined. Later chapters give attention to controls exercised on non-party papers, to broadcasting, propaganda and the armed forces, the motion picture, the theater, literature and propaganda, and the fine arts and music as propaganda.

Few writers have revealed so clearly, at least to my knowledge, the degree of correlation existing between party and state propaganda. To use an example: the interlacing of party press office with ministerial press division, the party film office with the state film division, in policy and personnel, is methodically de-



scribed in the text and revealed by means of excellent organization charts. The full cunning and skill with which party propagandistic activity is entwined with ministerial effort raise the question whether "the motor of the German propaganda machine" isn't in reality divisible—a twin-motored weapon.

The section on broadcasting, both its internal and external aspects, is one of the strongest chapters in the book. The authors relied upon monitored broadcasts and German publications which reached England up to June, 1942. The study, admittedly and understandably, lacks firsthand investigation.

The volume appeared in England under a John Murray imprint and the Yale University Press apparently has not altered the text to substitute American idiom for English nomenclature. This is a minor matter.

*University of Minnesota*

RALPH D. CASEY

NAZI CONQUEST THROUGH GERMAN CULTURE. By *Ralph F. Bischoff*, Assistant Professor of Government, Wesleyan University. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. x, 198. \$2.00.)

THE thesis of this book is that "the march of the National Socialists to power was in part due to the inborn cultural and blood nationalism of the German people" and to the ability of their leaders to re-emphasize certain traditions and characteristics already existent in Germany. This is, in large measure, true. There is a certain continuity in history, and any decline of a nation, such as Nazism represents for Germany, is a continuation of its past. In that sense the French people were responsible for Napoleon, as the Germans are for Hitler.

The chapters on the organization of German culture and German plans to use it as a political tool are well done. On the whole, these attempts have been surprisingly ineffective, save in Czechoslovakia, where environment and the vulnerability of the Sudeten problem created specially favorable conditions. In the United States, where English, French, Italians, Czechs, and others besides Germans have been active for years in cultivating their cultural interests, *Kultur* propaganda failed to revive a "flagging and decaying Germanism," and in the final showdown of World Wars I and II it proved no match for Americanism. These chapters deserve high praise. They are primarily descriptive and objective and contain valuable information on many organizations that were active in and outside Germany, though, strangely enough, all reference to the German Library of Information, one of the most active Nazi propaganda agencies in the United States, has been omitted.

It is with the first three chapters that this reviewer must register his disappointment. Such a statement as "the nation of Herder, the German romanticists, the political nationalists, the June Club, and the Nazi is the same" (p. 180) is too sweeping to be true in the sense in which the ordinary reader is likely to interpret

it. Herder and Hitler had something in common, of course, especially the idea of an organic state and organic growth. With Herder this was a deep philosophical conviction set in a framework of cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism. Hitler took the same idea and made it into a tool for expansion by force. To compare Schlegel and Görres, or Turnvater Jahn, with Hitler implies that any patriot, in Germany or elsewhere, who advocates national unity must be a potential Hitler. National unity and nationalistic arrogance organized for world domination are two very different things. Every patriot who wants the history and literature of his country taught in order to develop a certain sense of folk unity is not necessarily preparing the way for a Third Reich. The German romanticists extolled the virtues of a *Gemeinschaft*, and the Nazis talk about a mystical union of *Blut und Boden*. These concepts are to some degree alike, yet the Nazis have used them primarily as a party slogan to justify a brutal, mechanistic materialism. There was much in the German leadership of the early 1920's that was idealistic, spiritual, and even religious—a protest against the materialism of the war and inflation years. On one page the author seems to blame the victorious powers for not giving German republicanism a chance to succeed; on another he intimates that it is typically German to have failed. It is “no mere accident that the Germans have no word of their own for democracy (*die Demokratie*).” We, too, got it from the Greeks!

The impression one gets is that the author himself realizes that much of his interpretation of the antecedents of Hitlerism does not fit too nicely into the thesis which it is desirable, at present, to prove. Again and again, after damaging and sweeping assertions about the affinity between Hitlerites and Herder, Fichte, Schlegel, and others, he returns to the subject to point out that the analogy is really not so close as at first suggested and that certain concepts of humanitarianism and individualism, utterly incompatible with Nazism, may have been too lightly treated. These brief recantations are hardly adequate. One does not need to twist analogies or pull history out of focus in order to fix full responsibility on Hitler and his gangster government for warring upon all the basic rights of mankind.

Oberlin College

CARL WITTKÉ

APPEASEMENT'S CHILD: THE FRANCO REGIME IN SPAIN. By Thomas J. Hamilton. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1943. Pp. 327, xiv. \$3.00.)

THIS book gives the author's personal impressions of Spain under the Franco administration and is based on a two-year residence there as foreign correspondent of the *New York Times*. His interpretation of conditions in Spain is colored by his own personal sympathies, which are obviously on the side of the “republican” elements and against what he calls the “fascist” supporters of Franco.

Mr. Hamilton arrived in Spain in August, 1939, shortly after the termination

of the Spanish Civil War, and left in June, 1941. His book was published shortly after the Allied landings in North Africa. Throughout the book there runs the speculation as to whether Hitler would invade Spain and the apparent assumption that if he did so Franco would join him against the United Nations. Toward the end of his book Mr. Hamilton seemed less sure that Hitler would go into Spain, thus weakening one of his principal theses. The author is highly critical of the policies of the British and American governments in what he terms their "appeasement" of Franco, although he finishes on a somewhat more friendly note which states that in his opinion later policies have been more realistic and justified.

Mr. Hamilton's book is divided into three parts, entitled as follows: "Fascist Castles in Spain"; "Awakening to Reality"; and "The Franco Regime and the Outside World." Part I contains four chapters describing conditions in Spain as the author saw them following the civil war. He describes the rise of Spanish "fascism" and gives an account of the "Spanish Eldorado," which he defines as the Franco dream of regaining the ancient glories of Spain. Part II, covering chapters v to x inclusive, describes in detail the workings of the Franco administration as seen by the author, the various chapter headings being as follows: "Conflict within the New Order"; "Franco and the Spanish Laval," in which character sketches of Franco and his brother-in-law Serrano Suñer are essayed; "Neither Guns nor Butter"; "Special Privileges and the Black Market"; "Bread, Motherland, Justice"; and "Some Notes on Daily Life."

Part III constitutes the remaining six chapters, the titles of which are more or less self-explanatory: "Franco and the Outside World"; "The Germans Fight Us in Spain"; "Franco Fights Us in Latin America"; "Britain and France Try to Appease Franco"; "The United States Takes over the Job"; and "Spain and the Second Front."

Mr. Hamilton's book can hardly be called contemporaneous history. It is not written from the objective viewpoint of the historian. Rather it is the narrative of the partisan writer who undertakes his task with the preconceived notion that American foreign policy toward Spain has been wrong. One notable example of this attitude is his assertion that Franco was offered a loan of \$100,000,000 by the United States, which he cites as a fact despite a positive denial by Secretary Hull. Here as in other cases Mr. Hamilton offers no proof or authority other than his own personal statement.

*Appeasement's Child*, in spite of its appeal-to-prejudice title, will be found readable and interesting by many readers. In final summation it may be characterized as a sentimental and often biased appraisal of a brief period of Spanish history by an experienced newspaperman who apparently wished to write a popular and sensational book and chose his material to this end.

Washington, D. C.

W. E. DUNN

BALKAN FIREBRAND: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A REBEL, SOLDIER, AND STATESMAN. By *Kosta Todorov*. (Chicago: Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. 1943. Pp. 340. \$3.50.)

THIS autobiography fully lives up to its title. Kosta Todorov's career is well-nigh incredible. He divides it into four sections: terrorist, soldier, statesman, and exile. As a terrorist (1889-1913) he fought with the Imro against the Turks in Macedonia (at the age of sixteen), and he joined the terrorists in Odessa in their struggle against the tsarist regime. As a soldier (1913-19) he fought for two years with the Foreign Legion on the Western front and undertook a secret mission to Bulgaria for the Allied Powers. With the abdication of King Ferdinand he served the Stambolisky government in various diplomatic capacities, and in 1923, when Stambolisky was assassinated and his government overthrown, Todorov went into exile and since then has steadfastly opposed King Boris' pro-fascist regime. Today Todorov is head of the Free Bulgarian Committee and leader in absentia of the Bulgarian Peasant party. This bare outline gives no indication of the almost unbelievable amount of political intrigue and general violence and bloodshed that Todorov has managed to live through almost unscathed. In fact, so many names and parties and political movements are crammed into this book that the layman must find it rather confusing. For the historian, however, there is a good deal of interesting and, in some cases, important information.

The most valuable information concerns Italian diplomacy in the Balkans. Here are to be found details regarding Italian aid to the Imro, the use which Italy made of her reparation claims against Bulgaria, and the Aliotti proposal in April, 1920, for a secret Italo-Bulgarian military alliance against Yugoslavia (summary in Todorov's article in *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1928). Because of his experience as minister to Belgrade and his close personal relations with King Alexander, Todorov gives a revealing account of the Nish Agreement of April, 1923 (which he states was to be followed by a Serbo-Bulgarian military alliance), of the negotiations leading to the Balkan Pact of 1934, and of the international ramifications of Alexander's assassination at Marseilles. According to Todorov, Alexander much preferred a Bulgarian alliance to the Balkan Pact and even proposed unofficially to cede Tsaribrad and Bosiljgrad in the event of an alliance. Why this offer was rejected is not made clear. Worthy of mention also are General Sarraill's peace proposal to the Bulgarian general staff in May, 1916 (offering Turkish Thrace, most of Greek Macedonia, the Dobrudja, and "perhaps part of Serbian Macedonia depending on how much Serbia gets from Austria"), Bulgarian and French aid to Kemal during the Greco-Turkish War, and the short-lived Venizelos plan at the Lausanne Conference for a Bulgarian Corridor to Dedeagach.

Finally, it should be noted that Todorov is a man of strong likes and dislikes and that in the latter category fall the Bulgarian Communists. This is understandable in view of the long feud between the Communists and Todorov's Peasant party, but the account which is given here of the character and policies of the

Bulgarian Communists would never lead one to suspect that they are today one of the major political forces in Bulgaria and enjoy the support of a substantial portion of the population. The usefulness of the book is decreased, especially because of the mass of material it contains, by the failure to include an index.

*Smith College*

L. S. STAVRIANOS

## Far Eastern History

SLAVERY IN CHINA DURING THE FORMER HAN DYNASTY, 206

B. C.—A. D. 25. By *C. Martin Wilbur*, Curator, Chinese Archaeology and Ethnology, Field Museum of Natural History. [Publications of Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Volume 34.] (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History. 1943. Pp. 490. \$4.00.)

THIS is a sound and most valuable contribution on a topic of great interest to students both of China and of economic institutions. Dr. Wilbur has considered his subject in all its aspects—the nature of Han slavery, its extent, its origins, and its social and economic implications. The significance of the book, however, is greater than the title implies. It is the first study in a European language of slavery in the Han, at which period that institution reached its highest development in China; it is the first considerable Western study devoted to slavery in China since the century-old work of Biot; it provides in its introductory chapters an extremely valuable introduction to the Han social structure; and, finally, it throws much light not only on the court life but on the life of the broad upper economic strata of the time, previously little touched by Western historians.

In treating this subject the author has overcome special difficulties inherent in the nature of his source material. The ancient Chinese annalist, so careful in the preservation of texts on subjects of importance to him, was not interested in slavery as an institution; it has therefore been necessary to gather all incidental references to slavery to be found in Han documents on other subjects. This Dr. Wilbur has done comprehensively and thoroughly, with constant care to compensate for omissions and exaggerations rising from this rather haphazard textual transmission. He has at the same time made careful use of modern Chinese studies on the subject.

The most fundamental question concerning Han slavery—that of its extent and relative importance—has given rise to the most diverse opinions among historians, both Chinese and foreign. The present study reaches the opinion that in the period when the system saw its greatest development—around 7 B. C.—the number of slaves did not reach a million and possibly was much less. Of the entire population of the empire they may have counted less than one per cent. They could not have counted as an important economic factor, whether in agriculture or industry. Their chief employment appears to have been the personal service and

entertainment of their masters, who comprised the imperial family, the state officials, the nobility, and the wealthier commoners. Their lot economically appears to have been somewhat more fortunate than that of the poorer free peasantry. They could achieve their liberty, and in fact frequently reached positions of great social and political influence. Occasionally a slave dancer emerged even as empress, for Chinese society at this time was characterized in general by much fluidity of movement between classes.

It is difficult to name categorically the reasons for the failure of Han slavery to develop into an economic institution as it did in Greece and Rome. They appear to lie in a complex of factors including cultural and political predispositions, the abundance of cheap peasant labor, the adequacy of the *corvée* system for most public works, and the relatively underdeveloped industry and commerce of the Han. (It is, however, incorrect to imply that this relative industrial backwardness is true throughout Chinese history; China in fact took the lead from Europe in technical innovation during the ten centuries before the Renaissance.)

The well-considered format and apparatus of the book also deserve mention. The body of the discussion is followed by 138 of the most important source passages, reproduced in Chinese with full translation and annotation. These are also of great value as independent historical documents and form in themselves a fascinating story of the conduct of that tempestuous period. Two plates, a map of Han China, a very useful bibliography, and an index complete the volume.

Washington, D. C.

E. A. KRACKE, JR.

MARCO POLO'S PRECURSORS. By *Leonardo Olshki*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 100. \$1.50.)

THIS book should attract a wide circle of readers. It is indeed timely, for never has the problem of Asia loomed so large as it does today, and the place it held in the mind of pre-Columbian Europeans should be of interest, as it is of importance, to historians as a whole. Too often, especially in texts used in American schools and colleges, Asia has been treated as a sort of limbo, of little concern until it became a force attracting much attention in the age of discovery. Halphen in particular and other European scholars aimed to correct this view in their general treatments of European affairs and in their analyses of European civilization of the High Middle Ages, but only recently has their reconsideration of the importance of Asia in relation to European historical trends been reflected in the work of those whose eyes were focused almost too exclusively on what transpired in Europe alone.

Olshki gives an expert account and analysis of "The Literary Precursors" who kept alive the image of Asia while persisting in adhering to literary formulae of dubious worth, untenable character, but of enduring quality. This he supplements with chapters on "The Religious and Political Background" and "The

Missions 'Ad Tartaros,' surely one of the most interesting legacies of the Middle Ages. Although scholars may be well acquainted with the accounts of the travels of Friar John of Pian del Càrpine and the Flemish Friar William of Rubruk, Olschki's analysis of their works will be of significance for them, not only for the vivid exposition of what these men did and saw but especially for his comments on moot points their writings raise. The fourth chapter is most appropriately given to "The Elder Polos," continuators of an old tradition and founders of a new.

The little book is skillfully and expertly composed and the writing clear, but concise and compact, as the limits of the volume demanded. The volume has the merit of presenting not only a cogent and quite convincing running narrative but of reflecting also the author's firm grasp of the many important problems involved and an understanding of the subtle implications such a task required. Not the least contribution is that given in the many footnotes that have fortunately been appended—happily at the bottom of the page and not relegated to obscurity in an appendix. These serve as one of the finest, perhaps the best, introductions to the literature of a subject known well by too few, or only piecemeal by too many.

Princeton University

GRAY C. BOYCE

BLACK AUSTRALIANS: A SURVEY OF NATIVE POLICY IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA, 1829-1897. By *Paul Hasluck*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 1942. Pp. 226. 10s.6d.)

ALTHOUGH many Americans have an impression to the contrary, the aborigines of Australia have played a decidedly minor role in the Australian story. They were at no time either numerous, well organized, or aggressive enough to oppose white settlement in any effective way, and their civilization was of such a kind that they were in no position to influence that of the whites in any decisive fashion. Such collisions between the two peoples as took on the guise of "battles" were decidedly minor affairs, involving only a few individuals on either side. There were no true wars. There is no real analogy to be drawn between the experiences of our pioneers with the Indians and the experiences of the Australians with the aborigines. The latter were, and are, of more interest to the anthropologists than the historians.

There is no reason for astonishment, therefore, that not until 1941 did the first book on the history of Australian native policy appear. This was E. J. B. Foxcroft's *Australian Native Policy* (Melbourne). It skillfully sketched the elements of the case, concentrating on the situations in New South Wales and Victoria. Mr. Hasluck's book on the situation in western Australia deals with that part of the story in far greater detail and, in my opinion, at a much higher level of excellence. In brief, Mr. Hasluck summarizes the case thus:

For many years native administration in Australia has been viewed as the job of mitigating a nuisance or ameliorating the plight of a distressed people; once it



was urged that on those who took the land and disturbed the ancient way of life was laid a solemn Christian duty to lead the native into the benefits of their civilization and the brotherhood of their faith.

To trace the collapse of the early ideal, first in practice and then also in theory, is Mr. Hasluck's task. His report does not, of course, make inspiring reading. But the story is told with such a consistent play of understanding that at no time does the reader lose the feeling that he is reading of human beings acting in a strange environment to an end none of them could foresee. Mr. Hasluck does not get lost in the documents. Neither does he neglect the task of understanding both parties to a difficult and unwonted experiment in cultural contact. And because he is concerned with understanding, he is sparing of blame, an uncommon merit in a book on racial contact.

It will be good luck indeed if it falls to Mr. Hasluck to synthesize the story of white-black contacts throughout the Australian continent. When that job is done, perhaps more attention can be given to sifting truth from falsehood with regard to the brutalities visited on the blacks by callous settlers, thus further and truthfully integrating them into Australian history. To trace the twists and turns of policy is but part of the task, though a necessary one. Today there is an upswing in official concern for the surviving aborigines which affords ground on which to stand while carefully reviewing the complete story of the none too happy past.

*Tuckahoe, New York*

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

THE PAPUAN ACHIEVEMENT. By *Lewis Lett*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 204. 10s.6d.)

PAPUA has been very much in the news, but not a great deal has been written about the history of the Australian government's administration of this dependency. Mr. Lett, evidently from inside knowledge, has written an admirable account of it. His writing is clear and vivid, his knowledge intimate, and his judgments careful. Altogether this is an extraordinarily good book about a little-known experiment in colonial government.

The territory of Papua, as even casual newspaper readers now know, is a forbidding mountainous region inhabited by primitive peoples of strange customs and, until recently, disconcerting habits, such as headhunting. It is a jungle land of precipitous peaks and often pestilent valleys. Until its mineral resources became known it had little attraction even for adventurous white men. Gold first drew prospectors inland and the jungle road past Kokoda over the main ranges to Buna was first built for their use. Airplanes were used later to fly in equipment for more serious mining. Oil is likely to be an even more effective lure in the future.

The story of Australia's acquisition of this territory—which is to be distinguished from the League of Nations' mandated area adjoining it—is part of the history of the parceling out of Pacific islands when Germany began to move into this area in the eighties. The New Zealand government was disturbed and wished

to annex Samoa but was restrained. Australia, or rather Queensland, did annex New Guinea, but Great Britain repudiated the annexation. Gold had been discovered near Port Moresby in 1877, and a small "rush" set in; but the inhospitable land proved an effective deterrent. Strategic considerations were the main grounds for Australian alarm—and how well founded that alarm was! Ultimately the island was divided in 1884. Britain declared a protectorate in the south—reluctantly and on condition that the Australian colonies should assume responsibility, both political and financial. The first years of the protectorate were not happy ones, either for the special commissioners sent out from London or for the natives. There is the usual tale of native outrages and punitive expeditions. The more distant of the colonies tired of the expense, and Queensland was left to carry the burden with help from New South Wales and Victoria. Commerce lagged and unfortunate incidents continued.

After federation public opinion in the Commonwealth was stirred and in 1906 a royal commission was sent to Papua. The commissioners took a very enlightened stand and by great good fortune a remarkable administrator was found who was to make Papua an object lesson of wise and patient colonial government. Mr. Justice (later Sir Hubert) Murray is perhaps not as well known outside Australia as his distinguished brother Professor Gilbert Murray, but his career reflects at least as much credit upon Australia. Mr. Lett devotes the greater part of his book to a description of the humane and well-considered patient measures by which Sir Hubert set himself to the task of bringing primitive tribes to an understanding of enlightened government. It is a heartening record and one of which Australia may well be proud. It has borne rich fruit in these latter days and stands as a beacon lesson to be learned when the nations after this war come again to the task of devising constructive government for the dependent peoples of the world. Mr. Lett has told the story convincingly and well, but he has had a grand story to tell.

*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

J. B. CONDLIFFE

## American History

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXT AS SHOWN IN FACSIMILES OF VARIOUS DRAFTS BY ITS AUTHOR, ISSUED IN CONJUNCTION WITH AN EXHIBIT OF THESE DRAFTS AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ON THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. With an Introduction by Julian Boyd. (Washington: Library of Congress. 1943. Pp. 36 text, pp. 32 facsimiles.)

In this handsome volume have been brought together for the first time facsimiles of all the drafts of the Declaration of Independence made by Jefferson

that are known to be extant and with them facsimiles of related documents which help to illustrate the successive steps in the development of the Declaration. The value of the volume is very materially enhanced by a twenty-five page analysis of the evolution of the text by Julian Boyd, librarian of Princeton University and historian of the Thomas Jefferson Bicentennial Commission. Although Mr. Boyd generously acknowledges his indebtedness to other writers, especially to Mr. Carl Becker and Mr. John H. Hazleton, his editorial commentary represents no mere threshing over of old straws. It is a beautiful job of condensation and of independent interpretation, penetrating and judicious, written with clarity and grace.

The documents, which are superbly reproduced in collotype facsimile and take up thirty-two folio-size pages, are ten in number. Each is critically described in the table of contents. All are manuscripts and all are reproduced in actual size except Document X, John Dunlop's broadside "The First Printing of the Declaration of Independence, as Inserted in the Rough Journal of Congress." The other nine documents comprise George Mason's rough draft of the Virginia Bill of Rights, Jefferson's "First Ideas" on a constitution for Virginia, Richard Henry Lee's resolution of independence, John Adams' copy of Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration, Jefferson's famous rough draft, and four separate copies of the draft of the Declaration made by Jefferson for his friends. These photographic reproductions make possible a different approach in analyzing the text as it stood in various stages of composition, and this method has obvious advantages (as the editor writes) over "the always difficult and frequently impossible method of representing unconfined script through the medium of inflexible type."

Mr. Boyd first discusses the derivative authorship of the Declaration, notes the charges of Adams and Pickering that its ideas had for two years been "hackneyed in Congress," and points out that the most such charges could prove was that Jefferson failed to be original in an enterprise where originality of ideas would have been fatal. Turning to the exacting problems of textual criticism, he advances cautiously and sure-footedly through the mazes and thickets abounding with pitfalls presented by incomplete evidence and the conflicting statements of contemporaries and historians. He is very successful, it seems to the reviewer, in reconciling the conflicting statements of Jefferson and Adams as to the procedure by which Jefferson was selected to write the preliminary draft and as to the discussions that took place within the Committee of Five. He concludes that Jefferson, when he wrote, had before him his own draft of a constitution for Virginia and copied from it and that there is little ground for the contention that Jefferson was directly influenced by Mason's Virginia Bill of Rights.

The main subject of analysis, of course, is Jefferson's famous rough draft, "the most extraordinarily interesting document in American history," which "embodies in its text and in its multiplicity of corrections, additions, and deletions all, or almost all, of the Declaration as it was at every stage of its journey." Mr. Boyd finds evidence in the rough draft itself, the significance of which has hitherto

been overlooked, pointing to the fact that Jefferson copied it from another and earlier draft or drafts. The rough draft was presented to Adams and Franklin in advance of a meeting of the committee, and corrections were made by Adams and perhaps by Franklin. In discussing the fifteen alterations made during this first stage of the text's evolution, as well as those made later, Mr. Boyd makes good use of the copy made by Adams and the several copies made by Jefferson. He examines and compares the handwritten corrections and disagrees at times with the opinions expressed by Becker, Fitzpatrick, and others in his answers to such questions as: Did Jefferson first submit his rough draft for corrections to Adams or to Franklin? Did Franklin make any changes before Adams made his copy? Who was the author of specific changes? Was it Jefferson or Adams or Franklin who made the felicitous change from "We hold these truths to be sacred & undeniable" to "We hold these truths to be self-evident"?

During the second stage of evolution thirty-two changes of trifling importance were made by the committee. The third stage is much easier to follow, since Jefferson himself was careful to describe the thirty-nine alterations made by Congress during the debates of July 2-4, 1776. As to that famous surgical operation, some of the changes (most of which were deletions) were undoubtedly necessary to maintain a unanimity of sentiment so boldly proclaimed. In some cases Congress not only made the Declaration more adroit politically but improved the force and simplicity of Jefferson's literary masterpiece. Posterity doubtless will be recurrently surprised to find that Congress eliminated more and added fewer words than any or all of the Committee of Five. "That a public body would reduce rather than increase the number of words in a political document," says the editor, "is in itself a remarkable testimony to their sagacity and ability to express themselves."

As an official commemorative volume this work is strikingly superior to the general run of such publications, and credit for it goes not only to Mr. Boyd but to Mr. MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress, who contributes a brief and eloquent foreword. Only a limited edition of two thousand copies has been published, but it is to be hoped that more will become available. With its valuable facsimiles and its masterly commentary it will be useful as a work of reference and (especially in graduate seminars) as a model of editorial and critical skill.

*University of Virginia*

BERNARD MAYO

JOURNAL & LETTERS OF PHILIP VICKERS FITHIAN, 1773-1774: A PLANTATION TUTOR OF THE OLD DOMINION. Edited, with an Introduction, by *Hunter Dickinson Farish*. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. 1943. Pp. xlv, 323. \$4.00.)

ONE of the most charming and illuminating accounts of life in colonial Virginia is to be found in the journal and letters of Philip Fithian, an intelligent ministerial student at Princeton, who became a tutor in the household of Robert

Carter of Nomini Hall on October 28, 1773, and remained there for a year. During that time the young Presbyterian softened noticeably under the influence of the gracious life at Nomini Hall. He even regretted that he had not learned to dance—an accomplishment that he decided was “an ornamental, and most certainly, in this province . . . a necessary qualification for a person to appear even decent in Company.”

Fithian was a keen observer and described with more than a little color the daily activities in the household of one of the wealthiest planters of Tidewater Virginia. As a teacher he was naturally interested in the cultural aspects of Virginia society, and his reports of conversations and discussions provide a useful clue to the intellectual attainments of the planter class. The young tutor took particular pleasure in Carter's fine library. The editor of the present volume includes as an appendix an inventory of the library.

In these letters and journals the past comes to life, and one can see as vital personalities men and women who otherwise would have remained mere historical shadows. Fithian's journal is more readable and interesting than most documents of this type because he had a sense of economy in the use of words and was rarely repetitive or prolix in the enumeration of trivialities—the usual disease of diarists. When Fithian has little to say, he puts it briefly, as for example, “Wednesday 24. Busy in School.” But when he reports a significant conversation or describes some phase of plantation life, he gives ample concrete details.

Fithian's journal was first printed in 1900 by the Princeton Historical Association. In the same year a few extracts were published in the *American Historical Review*. The manuscript is preserved in the Princeton University Library. The original edition has been long out of print and unavailable. Furthermore, it did not include all of the letters or some sections of the journal. Thanks to the capable editing of Dr. Hunter Farish, director of the department of research and record of Colonial Williamsburg, we now have a complete version.

Dr. Farish's introduction provides a succinct and sound description of Virginia in what he calls “the Golden Age”—the period immediately preceding the Revolution. Although Dr. Farish asserts that the aristocratic planters of the day placed a high premium on the grace of living, he is careful to point out that not even in this golden age were they an idle and frivolous lot. His introduction, corroborated by Fithian's own evidence, once more emphasizes the fact that the great planters were a hard-working group, little concerned with the chivalric nonsense so dear to the hearts of romantic novelists.

Dr. Farish's notes are learned and adequate. He has not cluttered his pages with unnecessary information, but he has clearly identified the persons mentioned in the journal and at the same time spared the reader genealogical irrelevancies. This volume, number three in the “Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies,” is handsomely printed and is a worthy contribution to an excellent series.

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

JOHN PARADISE AND LUCY LUDWELL OF LONDON AND WILLIAMSBURG. By *Archibald Bolling Shepperson*. (Richmond: Dietz Press. 1942. Pp. 501. \$4.00.)

IMPORTANT friends of unimportant people provide the stuff of this book. John and Lucy Paradise would never have lived in history except for their friends.

John Paradise was an Englishman, born in Greece of a Greek mother and an English father. He lived most of his life in London and would be unknown to American history except for his wife, Lucy Ludwell of Virginia, a daughter of Philip Ludwell and cousin to the Lees. She left Virginia at the age of nine and lived in London until 1805, when she returned to Williamsburg, an eccentric widow, to end her days nine years later in America's first insane asylum.

John and Lucy were married in 1769 and spent their married life in No. 28 Charles Street, Cavendish Square, London. John spoke seven languages, was a cultivated person, somewhat weak and amiable but with enough money and a sufficiently aspiring wife to make his home the gathering place for the London notables of the day. There the vast presence of Dr. Johnson was accompanied by the lesser presences of Sir Joseph Banks, Sir William Jones, Dr. Priestley, Sir Samuel Parr, all intellectuals, linguists, or scientists. Ben Franklin and Thomas Jefferson joined them there, and even during the Revolution American and British Whigs met together in the Paradise home. The first half of the book deals with this circle of Paradise friendships in the seven or eight years of their married life before the Revolution disrupted friendships and nearly bankrupted the Paradises.

The last half of the book deals in large part with the marital and financial difficulties of John and Lucy. Lucy had inherited half of her father's huge Virginia property; her sister, married to William Lee, the other half; and there was friction over the division and subsequent management of the estate. Lucy was shrewish, disagreeable on occasion, and always ambitious. John was indecisive, bibulous, and no businessman.

The Paradises, in consequence, were always in trouble. Lucy promoted the marriage of her elder daughter to an Italian count of declining fortune and morals. The family nearly split over that problem, and many times later they threatened to separate. With the income from her Virginia property cut off by the Revolution and with John Paradise's own income greatly reduced, Lucy continued to live as extravagantly as before, and debts and creditors plagued the Paradises for years. The dismal record of their family troubles is of interest to American historians only because of the efforts Thomas Jefferson made to help them out. He spent a great deal of his time in Paris in the 1780's helping them to solve their financial problems and trying to evade Lucy Ludwell's too obvious efforts to attach herself to him. The best letters in the book are from Jefferson to John and Lucy Paradise and their friends.

America itself appears in the book only slightly, once when the Paradises made a visit to Virginia, tragically ended by the death of their younger daughter in

England, and again when Lucy Paradise returned as a widow to Williamsburg in 1805.

Professor Shepperson has made the most of his material. Using the somewhat pathetic figures of John and Lucy Paradise, he has recreated the London literary scene, focused upon one small house. That the book is interesting and worth while is a tribute to the author's imagination and nose for historical news.

*Vanderbilt University*

PHILIP DAVIDSON

**BENJAMIN TALLMADGE: REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER AND AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN.** By *Charles Swain Hall*, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 375. \$3.50.)

THIS biography is a model of its kind. The product of scholarly research, painstakingly documented, with a good index, written in a pleasing style, this story of a "second-line" founder of the American republic ought to be duplicated many times to provide the groundwork for a complete study of our early history as a nation.

Benjamin Tallmadge of Litchfield, Connecticut, was a typical good citizen in a small community, a man who helped to make democracy work. His career began (after home influences had laid a good foundation) in Yale College, where he was a friend and classmate of Nathan Hale. In the spring of 1776 Tallmadge joined the Army, with a lieutenant's commission and the job of adjutant to his regiment. He later became a captain in the Second Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons, which, following British precedent, was a mounted corps which fought as infantry or as cavalry according to the requirements for action. He was in various engagements between the British and Americans, but beginning in the winter at Valley Forge he was employed in patrolling neutral ground, "scouring the country from the Schuylkill to the Delaware River," according to his own account. This task, carried on after 1778, led to his becoming the head of General Washington's secret service, a notable achievement of which was the capture of Major André and the unmasking of Benedict Arnold. Tallmadge was one of the original members of the Order of the Cincinnati.

After the Revolutionary War ended, Tallmadge became a businessman, and his career, followed most carefully and thoroughly by Mr. Hall, is most revealing, especially as illustrative of how capital was invested in that day—in lands, in ships, in industrial enterprises of various kinds, in department stores (forerunners of such typically American establishments as Marshall Field's in Chicago and Gordon Selfridge's in London), in banking, and in assisting groups emigrating to the gradually opening frontiers. Tallmadge served his Connecticut district in the Congress of the United States, where he was a dyed-in-the-wool Federalist, fearful of Jefferson and all of that ilk. He was a devout and active member of the Con-



gregational church, then a great power in Connecticut and elsewhere. He was above all a humanitarian, always to be counted upon to support good works, whether these were foreign missions, home missions, benevolent societies, or just county fairs. All of the activities of this good citizen of Litchfield are set forth by Mr. Hall in a readable, interesting, and valuable work, its usefulness enriched by the pleasing format of the volume, the work of the Columbia University Press.

*Madison, Wisconsin*

LOIS K. M. ROSENBERRY

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND PEREGRINATIONS OF THE FLORENTINE, PHILIP MAZZEI, 1730-1816. Translated by *Howard R. Marraro*, Assistant Professor of Italian, Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 447. \$4.00.)

THE writer of these *Memoirs* has long been an obscure figure to most students, remembered only perhaps as the recipient of Jefferson's famous "Letter to Mazzei" of 1796, with its forthright criticism of Federalist leaders and policies. Yet Philip Mazzei deserves to be better known. He was an extraordinary and versatile man, a physician, merchant, horticulturist, political pamphleteer, and minor diplomat. Further, this adventurous Italian who became the neighbor and life-long friend of Thomas Jefferson and participated in both the American and French revolutions was, as these *Memoirs* attest, a facile writer of observations on many phases of eighteenth century life in Italy, Turkey, England, Virginia, and France.

In the past decade much has been done to make Mazzei better known. Sketches of him have appeared; letters and dispatches of his have been published in piecemeal fashion; and a brief biography of him has been written by Richard Cecil Garlick, jr., based chiefly on his letters (many of which, untranslated from the Italian, are quoted at length) and his memoirs. Mazzei's recollections, published in Italy in 1845, have long been out of print. Only that part which pertains to his Virginia career has hitherto been translated and published, by E. C. Branchi in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*. Now, for the first time, we have a full-length translation in English. Mr. Marraro deserves the thanks of a wide and varied group of students for making the *Memoirs* available.

While Mazzei's *Memoirs* are not penetrating or profound or always accurate, they are lively, gossipy, full of anecdotes and revealing side lights on outstanding men of his day in America and Europe. They give an engaging picture of the man himself and, with some qualifications, a valuable picture of his times. The account of his youth and education in Italy, of his encounters with the Inquisition, and of his amorous affairs is done with the verve and gusto of a Casanova or a Lorenzo da Ponte. After three years in Smyrna as a physician Mazzei in 1756 went to England and occupied himself with mercantile and scientific interests until 1773, when he took to Virginia a colony of Italian vigneroni and set up an establishment near Jefferson's Monticello. He soon found himself actively engaged

in the American Revolution, as a pamphleteer, a militia man, an advocate for Jefferson's social reforms in Virginia, and as Virginia's agent to borrow money abroad. In Paris, as in all other places, he made friends among politicians and intellectuals. He renewed his acquaintance with Jefferson and Franklin and wrote pro-American propaganda, including a pioneer history in four volumes of his adopted country. He became a member of the revolutionary "Club of 1789" and reported the events of the French Revolution as the agent of Stanislaus II of Poland. After the second division of Poland he returned to Italy, where he quietly spent the rest of his life.

The translation is a very readable one, with the original narrative arranged by Mr. Marraro in chapters and chapter sections. The translator tells us that he has in a few instances omitted repetitious matter and unimportant digressions. Included in his omissions, unfortunately, are some interesting political articles written by Mazzei for the *Virginia Gazette* in 1774-75. Just how interesting these articles are may be judged from the few extracts from them given at the beginning of the book (p. v). Our indebtedness to Mr. Marraro would have been much greater if he had edited Mazzei's recollections as well as translated them. Mazzei wrote them when he was over eighty years of age and his memory frequently played him false. Then, too, his observations on men and events, while always interesting, are often superficial or distorted. This voluble, enterprising, warm-hearted, likable Italian was not afflicted, as he tells us in his *Memoirs*, with the vice of false modesty. One would, of course, thoroughly disagree with Mazzei's characterization of Edmund Pendleton as a foolish, pettifogging Virginia lawyer, and one doubts very much whether Mazzei had as much influence on the development of Jefferson's political ideas as he ascribes to himself. Mr. Marraro in his preface is cognizant of Mazzei's defects and, judging from the extensive bibliography which he appends to his excellent translation, he is familiar with the literature of the period. It is regrettable that he did not make use of his knowledge and opportunity to elucidate the text, point out the author's many inaccuracies, and dampen editorially some of Mazzei's more exuberant statements.

*University of Virginia*

BERNARD MAYO

THIS WAS NEW YORK: THE NATION'S CAPITAL IN 1789. By *Frank Monaghan* and *Marvin Lowenthal*. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1943. Pp. xi, 308. \$2.75.)

THE city of New York, wrote Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill in 1807, in the preface to its first guidebook, "is not as well known to its own inhabitants as it deserves to be." Now, more than one hundred and fifty years later, Messrs. Monaghan and Lowenthal have presented New Yorkers with a guide to their city in Washington's day that contemporaries would have found amazingly real and the modern resident will read with keen delight. Even the learned Dr. Mitchill would

have had little reason to complain had there been such a guide to New York in his time.

Apparently it was planned that this book should be published coincidentally with the New York World's Fair celebration, which marked the sesquicentennial of George Washington's inauguration in that city as the first President of the United States. Its publication now, however—delayed though it may be—is just as welcome, for this is a sound contribution to historical scholarship and needs no artificial stimulus from “the world of tomorrow” to justify its appearance in the world of today. Although this is not the first monograph about that momentous year in the city's history, it is certainly the best and must be considered as completely superseding T. E. V. Smith's creditable study, which came out in the centennial year 1889.

Circumscribed though they are by the chronological restriction to the year 1789, the authors have succeeded, nevertheless, in giving a well-rounded picture of life in New York a century and a half ago, conveniently overlooking temporal limitations to make their account meaningful. From numerous printed and manuscript sources they have gathered together a wealth of information about old New York at work and at play. Brief but illuminating bibliographical notes testify to the care with which the data were collected and critically sifted. From the charging-out ledger of the New York Society Library the authors were able to ascertain what were the “best-read” books of 1789. From an exhaustive study of newspaper advertisements came a rich harvest of pertinent facts about the many-sided activities in the city. The chapters on retail business enterprise and other vocational pursuits in this eighteenth century city are done with literary charm. There is an interesting treatment of Washington's inauguration and the inaugural journey to New York.

The authors' consistently skillful handling of their materials is evident in every chapter. But, in an effort to keep the reader constantly entertained, there is a tendency to emphasize some of the superficial aspects of urban living. The straining for dramatic effect seems hardly necessary in a work such as this. It is also to be regretted that a plan or two of the old city was not included in the book, as such illustrative material would have been welcomed by the reader. On the whole, however, it is an excellent study, the product of industrious research presented in an engaging style.

*City College, New York*

SIDNEY I. POMERANTZ

THE FREE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1790-1860. By *John Hope Franklin*, Professor of History in St. Augustine's College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1943. Pp. x, 271. \$4.00.)

IN his book *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860*, John Hope Franklin makes a valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on the free

Negro in the Southern states and incidentally to the institution of slavery from which the bulk of the free Negroes originated. Though greatly handicapped in attaining full citizenship status in a society intended only for free whites and slaves, the free Negro for this very reason looms large in the historical source material of our time. Buried in hundreds of county and city court clerks' offices and in the state archives of the South are numerous deed books, will books, order books, petitions, registers, lists of free Negroes, and miscellaneous papers which reveal every aspect of the life of this small group in the dominant slave society. Since the free Negro was under constant surveillance, it necessarily followed that the law-enforcing officers should keep many records as a means of identifying every individual of this group in the community.

So numerous are the sources on the free Negro that studies on special phases of his life are possible. But since the work of Dr. Franklin is the first monograph to appear on the subject for North Carolina, he wisely decided on a general history rather than exploring completely any one aspect. He has accordingly written five well-balanced chapters embracing the growth of the free Negro population, their legal status, their position in the economic life of the state, their social life, and finally their restricted position in society, as expressed in the title "An Unwanted People." The value of the book is enhanced by the inclusion of six maps, seven tables, and five appendixes drawn from the unpublished population schedules of the eighth census and the first thirty-six volumes of the *African Repository*.

In this volume Dr. Franklin seeks "to clarify and to explain the status of the free Negro in ante-bellum North Carolina as it was related to the larger community." He finds that in the field of labor "the more ambitious could find opportunities for work in the rural areas and the towns if sentiment against their presence was not too hostile"; that in property ownership the free Negro's right to own real property was never questioned; that in education "the educational opportunities of free Negroes in North Carolina were few"; and that in religion "provision was made to incorporate the free Negro as well as the slave into the religious activities of the whites."

Another of the interesting topics he treats was the activity of the free Negroes in politics. Possessed with the right of suffrage until 1835, this group voted in elections and in certain counties held the balance of power. That North Carolina permitted free Negroes to vote from 1776 to 1835 and that there was considerable opposition in the constitutional convention of 1835 to the disfranchisement of this group is proof of the comparative liberality of this Southern state. He finds that the outstanding leader in politics was John Chavis, who achieved unusual prominence also as an educated minister and a teacher of white children from families of the upper class.

As a factor in the educational welfare and industrial training of free Negroes the author lays emphasis on the apprenticeship system. In giving prominence to the wide practice of free Negro parents binding out their children to masters and

mistresses, Dr. Franklin reveals an important phase of the free Negro's development hitherto not stressed by previous writers. He holds that this system lay at the root of much of the advancement of the free Negro. This view points the way to new avenues of research.

For the book as a whole Dr. Franklin has explored the sources adequately. His treatment of the free Negro property owner, however, leaves much more to be found on this subject. He relies entirely on the inaccurate listing of property owners and the assessment of property values given by census enumerators in the unpublished population schedules of the eighth census. Frequently the census enumerators listed persons as owners of property who were not owners, and some who were owners they did not list at all. As for property values their estimates are most haphazard.

Dr. Franklin fell into a similar error in his treatment of free Negro ownership of slaves. Following the original error of Carter G. Woodson in his *Free Negro Ownership of Slaves in 1830*, the author cites Gooden Bowen and John Walker as the owners of forty-four slaves each and John Crichton as the owner of twenty-four. In all probability these large owners were not free Negroes but white persons. Accuracy in investigation on property ownership is obtained only by a careful checking of Federal records with local records, which are to be found sometimes in state archives but more frequently and completely in local archives. Deed books, will books, and landbooks in county courthouses often reveal a story quite different from that of the original census of 1850 and 1860.

This volume is well written and the estimate of the achievement of individual Negroes and of the group is restrained. Well balanced and striving always for objectivity the author has produced a scholarly work.

Virginia State College

LUTHER P. JACKSON

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Chester W. Wright*, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago. [Business and Economic Publications, William Homer Spencer, Editor.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1941. Pp. xxviii, 1120. \$4.00.)

A NUMBER of textbooks on American economic history have appeared since the publication in 1895 of C. D. Wright's *Industrial Evolution of the United States*. Among the authors of these books may be mentioned especially Katherine Coman, E. L. Bogart, Isaac Lippincott, H. U. Faulkner, E. C. Kirkland, F. A. Shannon, H. J. Carman, R. G. McGrane, and A. C. Bining. Of this group the first three are economists who were pioneers in the American economic history textbook field, while the other five are historians whose books have been widely adopted with the rapid introduction of courses in economic history in American colleges and universities.

The author of the present volume is an economist who differentiates his objec-

tive from that of the historian by the statement that his "immediate and primary function is to study the production and distribution of wealth with the objective of learning how the nation's economic progress can be promoted and its standard of living advanced," while the "primary objective" of the historian "is to provide the economic background for explaining and interpreting political and social history." He regards economic history as a branch of economics, for he observes that "Ideally the economic historian should possess most of the knowledge of a large and well-rounded Department of Economics, to say nothing of the desirable knowledge in the related social sciences." It should not be necessary to state that economic history is one of the several branches of history and that *the economic historian should first of all be a historian*, with "a desirable knowledge of the related social sciences." The functional approach to economic history has its uses; it has also its limitations and abuses, for economic history has other important uses that are ignored or minimized by the economist.

This book treats the subjects usually treated in economic histories, but several features distinguish it from other textbooks. It gives special attention to the problems of war as illustrated by the great wars of American history, and it reviews contemporary developments in other countries that have shaped the growth of the United States. Chapter 45, entitled "The Achievement," which describes the standards of living in 1770, 1860, and 1930, is one of the best. A few defects may be noted. The influence of the Indian on colonial economy is minimized. Agriculture is treated as a minor phase of American development. The farmers' movement is practically ignored. The amount of space given to financial institutions (five chapters, or 122 pages, and parts of other chapters) can hardly be justified.

Just where does this book fit into an academic program? As a text for undergraduate students it is subject to two major criticisms: the subject is not well proportioned, nor is it satisfactorily integrated with other phases of American history. As a reference book it will serve a useful purpose.

The editor's claim that this book is "a definitive treatment of the development of our national economic life" and that it is "indispensable" as a text in the teaching of economics and history ignores the merits of other textbooks on American economic history, not to mention the fact that the "definitive" and "indispensable" textbook will probably never be written.

Iowa State College

LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT

THE WRITINGS OF SAM HOUSTON, 1813-1863. Edited by *Amelia W. Williams* and *Eugene C. Barker*. Volume VII, NOVEMBER, 1824-MARCH, 1860. Volume VIII, APRIL, 1825-JULY, 1863, WITH INDEX. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1942, 1943. Pp. xvi, 567; xxiii, 379. \$2.50, \$3.25.)

THESE two volumes cover the last five years of Houston's life. They comprise thirteen months' service in the United States Senate and an equal period as gov-

ernor of Texas, months as stirring and difficult as any in his picturesque career, but far less productive in immediate results for himself, for his beloved Texas, or for the cause to which he had devoted the preceding decade—national unity. Serving the last cause with a devotion worthy of his early mentor Andrew Jackson, Houston found himself, at the outbreak of the Civil War, repudiated by his state and section, isolated from national forces that might have helped him but which he did not choose to summon to his aid, cherishing, perhaps, the hopeless dream of building up another empire, composed of Texas, a few neighboring states, and the provinces of Mexico over which he had vainly sought to extend an American protectorate.

The present volumes, like the earlier ones, contain a few documents (about thirty) that belong to years preceding 1858. These are relatively unimportant and bear out the statement that the collection as a whole is as complete as can be made at present; a few unpublished papers still remain in private hands. In general the editors are to be congratulated on the number of documents, hitherto unpublished, that they have enticed from private keeping. In this respect they have possibly increased their calendars of separate items by a third above the original estimate, but not to that extent in actual bulk, although the six volumes originally promised have been increased to eight. A considerable number of pages in Volume VIII are left blank, evidently to keep it on a par in size with its fellows, and some three hundred items in the two volumes are simply mentioned in the calendars by date and person. This practice was adopted to save space and we are assured that no formal material of real historical or biographical significance has been omitted. The fact that the titles of some documents appear in their regular place, without any accompanying text but with explanatory notes, confirms this claim. The names given in these compressed calendars will assist genealogists in further research, if necessary or desirable.

As revealed in the present offering, Houston's main purpose during these last years was to maintain the Union. For this he contended from his seat in the Senate, on the stump, and in the governor's chair. For this he insisted that state legislators should give more attention to domestic finance, to the defense of the frontiers against Indian and Mexican raids, and to measures of local security against aggression from any quarter outside the state. He sought to prevent the withdrawal of Texas from the Union, but when public opinion overran him, he refused to employ force against his fellow citizens. He opposed an extra-legal body, such as the state convention of 1861 that carried through secession, but not openly after the state legislature endorsed this policy. He protested against his own removal from office and against the course of the Confederate provost marshals, but he would not permit his friends to back up his protests with arms. He predicted the failure of the movement for Southern independence but permitted his oldest son to enlist in the Confederate service. He refused to take the oath of



allegiance to the Confederacy but congratulated the Confederate commander who in 1863 recovered Galveston from Northern control.

Some attribute Houston's course not merely to consideration for Texas and his fellow Texans but to a desire to keep their good will and turn it, at the proper time, toward a new confederation, stretching on both sides of the Rio Grande from the Gulf to the Pacific. Perhaps he cherished some such project. He had recovered leadership in Texas in 1859 after a disastrous defeat two years before, but his own letters reveal virtually nothing on this point. In fact one examines these and the preceding volumes of the series with some disappointment. They show little that is new about him, unless it be concerning family affairs, his affection for wife and children, his views on education, public and private, his formal Christian practices—attributes that ordinarily we do not associate with his career. All his major addresses, herewith reprinted, break no new ground. The mass of executive documents, presented in full as well as in brief summary, reveals the energetic and forceful frontier president and governor, as well as contemporary conditions in local administration. In bringing together these personal and public exhibits, covering more than a half century, the editors have performed a service for which succeeding scholars will be profoundly grateful. We may expect this material to form the basis for a new crop of graduate theses.

In the footnotes that accompany each document the editors have rendered another important service. In keeping with an earlier prediction, these notes constitute the nucleus for a future "Dictionary of Texas Biography." To make this even more evident they list all the names thus treated in the notes under one index heading, "Biographical sketches," so that the casual reader may readily find the person he is seeking. The index to the whole series has been compressed into some twenty-eight pages and constitutes a guide to the subject matter of the text, rather than to that in the footnotes. A separate bibliography of the sources used in compiling these notes would have been desirable. The editors confess to an occasional slip in proofreading, but in general one has only the highest praise for their patient research and scholarly presentation of results. Their work was worth doing; others, as shown in their acknowledgments, had confidence in the enterprise and gladly gave them aid and they have brought it to a successful conclusion within a reasonable period. The volumes take an honored place among published source material of which any state might well be proud.

*Louisiana State University*

ISAAC J. COX

POPULAR FREETHOUGHT IN AMERICA, 1825-1850. By *Albert Post*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 497.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 258. \$3.00.)

AMERICAN free thought, after the quick death of its vogue in the early days of the republic, underwent something of a revival in the period from 1825 to

1850. The Owens, Frances Wright, Gilbert Vale, George H. Evans, and other newcomers from Great Britain provided the intellectual leadership, and their efforts found a surprisingly lively response in this country. The quantity of forgotten lectures and editors, obscure newspapers, magazines, and societies testifies to the widespread interest through these years in devising rationalist alternatives to religion.

Dr. Post's work is an intensive examination of the popular free thought movement—its scope, its organization, its instruments of propaganda. More general questions of intellectual history, such as the relations of science or of industrialism to irreligion, are specifically excluded. The style is sober, the generalizations are cautious, and the research and documentation exceedingly thorough. The comprehensive bibliography is by itself a most useful contribution, and the book, within its self-imposed limits, will be of great service to students of American intellectual history.

The problem of organization is always puzzling when dealing with the somewhat diffuse materials of intellectual history. While Dr. Post's breakdown of his subject into press, societies, propaganda, national organization, and so on presents many conveniences, it is in certain respects not an altogether happy solution. Each chapter must pretty much straddle the whole period, which, on the one hand, makes for repetition, and, on the other, tends to blur the ebb and flow of the movement over the whole quarter century. A genetic rather than a taxonomic approach might have thrown in sharper relief certain political and intellectual crises of free thought in these years. Colonel Richard M. Johnson's report on the Sunday Mail and the Sabbatarian furor, for example, or the fight in state legislatures over the competency of atheists as witnesses, or the geological attack on scriptures were all perhaps more significant events for the free thought movement than this account suggests. But *Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850*, contains most of the raw material essential for a more analytical treatment, and it documents admirably a cloudy chapter in American intellectual history.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

THE CABINET POLITICIAN: THE POSTMASTERS GENERAL, 1829-1909.

By Dorothy Ganfield Fowler. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943.

Pp. x, 344. \$3.75.)

THE central, if somewhat tenuous, theme of Mrs. Fowler's book is that from 1829 to 1909 postmasters general were primarily politicians and that by 1909 the practice (since unbroken) had become established by which the chairman of the victorious national party committee succeeded to the office of postmaster general. The vast resources which the author has utilized fully confirm this proposition.

The postmasters general do not emerge as impressive figures. They have been characteristically shrewd schemers, clever bargainers, patronage-mongers on an

immense scale, and on the basis of this record principally concerned with getting rid of opposition party postmasters, with rewarding friends and punishing enemies within the majority party, and with building up a patronage machine to ensure control of the next national nominating convention.

Throughout these years not more than two postmasters general seem to have had more diverse or mature interests: Montgomery Blair, under Lincoln; George B. Cortelyou, under Theodore Roosevelt; and perhaps Jackson's second postmaster general, Amos Kendall, should be added to the list.

Mrs. Fowler's study belongs to the group of books illustrated by Carl R. Fish's *The Patronage and the Civil Service* and the recent volume by Harry J. Carman and R. H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage*. It is not a study of the office of postmaster general nor is it a history of the post office during these eighty years. Indeed, the focus of the study is unduly blurred and indistinct. While the author is primarily concerned with the patronage activities of postmasters general, she also introduces much material about party politics, convention strategy, civil service reform, senatorial confirmation, "who saw who," and similar data, sometimes marginally relevant. The complaint of the reader should perhaps not be the use of such material but rather the failure to achieve a firm organization of the subject matter which keeps in the foreground the central theme. The difficulty is enhanced by the brevity of the author's own evaluation and summary of her work, which are confined to the space of one page.

The volume will be useful to students of the history of American administrative institutions and to political scientists specializing in party organization and activities.

*University of Chicago*

LEONARD D. WHITE

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE: ITS FIRST HUNDRED YEARS. By Philip Kinsley. Volume I, 1847-1865. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1943. Pp. xv, 381, vii. \$5.00.)

THE *Chicago Tribune* has been an influential voice in the Middle West since 1847, when its first issue of four pages came from a hand press operated in one room in a town of about twenty thousand. The history of its hundred years, to be told in several volumes, is as amazing and spirited as that of the city and section in which most of its readers reside. The present volume covers the years 1847 to 1865. Mr. Philip Kinsley, a member of the newspaper's staff since 1903, with the exception of eight years (1910-18), is the author.

Aside from the original owners who were also its editors, reporters, printers, and men-of-all-work, the *Tribune* has always had flaming personalities to control its news-gathering and editorial policies. Untiringly zealous, persistent, and bold, they have been men bent on getting converts to the causes they promoted and defended. Heywood Broun once remarked that "a newspaper can neither rise nor

fall below the staff." Of no paper can this be said more truthfully than of the *Tribune*. Those who have controlled its policies could never be laughed off any more than can its present guiding spirit. From its original four hundred copies it grew rapidly, by 1860 having the largest circulation in the city. The Civil War pushed figures to unprecedented heights, and today more than a million are counted its daily readers.

During the fifties the *Tribune* passed through several changes in management and ownership and in the process absorbed various other papers. It adopted the name *Chicago Daily Tribune* on October 24, 1860, and on February 18, 1861, the Tribune Company was incorporated. The original capitalization was for two hundred shares of stock, with a par value of \$1,000 a share. According to Mr. Kinsley the par value was later reduced to \$100 a share and the number of shares increased to two thousand, but the \$200,000 capitalization still stands.

With the coming of Joseph Medill from Ohio in the mid-fifties the paper forged rapidly ahead. In the first years of the decade it espoused temperance and Know-Nothingism and proposed a new political party to solve the perplexing problem of Southern slavery. Under Medill antislavery enthusiasm was fanned to white heat and the program of the Republican party was given undivided support. The *Tribune* was pro-Lincoln before the Illinois senatorial campaign of 1858, and in the Republican convention of 1860 Medill was very influential in nominating Lincoln for the presidency. Medill's rabid anti-Southern attitude was shared by his associates Horace White, John L. Scripps, and Dr. Charles H. Ray, who also held that the Union must be preserved at all costs. Throughout the war they stood by the President, although at times they felt him slow of action and lacking in aggressiveness. Through the columns of their paper they urged quick emancipation of the slaves and the confiscation of Southern property. As the war years wore on the *Tribune* became the mouthpiece of the "radical" element of the Republicans and raised violent objections to the privately promoted campaigns for political office of men in the armed forces and those already in the government service. The national banking system and a nationwide currency had the paper's active endorsement, and, although professing to understand the problems of laboring men, the *Tribune* evinced little sympathy with the movement for organization.

The narrative can best be described as episodic, almost a day-to-day recital of many news events, sometimes unrelated to one another. For example, the reader hops, skips, and jumps in a half page from notes on a speech by Wendell Phillips to pork packing, the siege of Island No. 10, the battle of Pittsburg Landing, to a trade report (p. 233). This practice prevails throughout the book and leaves the reader somewhat disconcerted, with little feeling of topical continuity in the discussion. Frequent long quotations from secondary works, when the *Tribune* itself would have proved as good if not a better source, further detract from the readability of the book.

With the next volumes Mr. Kinsley's task will become increasingly complex,

demanding an understanding of forces seen and unseen and of the part played by the *Tribune* in weaving the pattern of thought in the great Middle West. His first volume is written cautiously and on the whole accurately. It is regrettable that the men who gave color to the paper do not emerge as distinctly as does Lincoln. The volume might well have provided us incidentally with a picture of the city in the life of which it was so important. There is little about the ways by which news was gathered, published, and distributed. In these respects this first volume, although a contribution to newspaper history, is not the equal of some other histories of great newspapers of this country written in the last fifteen or twenty years.

University of Chicago

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

KENDALL OF THE *PICAYUNE*, BEING HIS ADVENTURES IN NEW ORLEANS, ON THE TEXAN SANTA FE EXPEDITION, IN THE MEXICAN WAR, AND IN THE COLONIZATION OF THE TEXAS FRONTIER. By *Fayette Copeland*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1943. Pp. 351. \$3.00.)

IF George Wilkins Kendall had selected his biographer, he could hardly have chosen a more appropriate person than Fayette Copeland, nor could critical historians have improved upon the choice. Trained in both history and journalism, the author has succeeded admirably in resurrecting the gifted founder and editor of the New Orleans *Picayune* and in appraising his contributions to the Southwest in the period from Andrew Jackson to Andrew Johnson. Despite the use of the word "famous," the biography is, for the most part, a temperate account of Kendall and his period. It is more than a narrative of the chief events in the editor's career, for it provides sufficient background against which Kendall and many of his contemporaries are mirrored. The style is uneven; occasionally it approaches the "thriller" type, producing an intense interest in the outcome of an episode, only to ebb into a dull recital of military detail.

The *Picayune* was no ordinary newspaper. It was "the first representative in the South of the vigorous, rollicking 'penny press,'" and it soon acquired an enviable reputation for authoritative information on affairs in Texas and Mexico. For this recognition Kendall was largely responsible. He was no armchair journalist. He accompanied the ill-fated expedition from Texas to Santa Fe in 1841, suffered all the hardships of frontier travel and Mexican imprisonment, reported the Mexican War from the battlefield, established a pony express that got news to New Orleans and even to Washington and New York ahead of the mail, and merited the designation, Copeland concludes, of first modern war correspondent. Not the least of Kendall's legacies were his own publications: *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* (1844) and *War between the United States and*

*Mexico* (1851). Unfortunately, a longer history of the Mexican War did not materialize in printed form.

Following the war, Kendall sojourned for a few years in Paris and reported significant European events for the *Picayune*. Ever since his first trip to Texas, however, he had dreamed of becoming a rancher there. The dream was realized in 1855, and Kendall became "the foremost sheep raiser in the South." The vicissitudes of war and reconstruction ruined his business and contributed to his death in 1867.

With all its praiseworthy qualities, Copeland's work is not free from error. There are a sprinkling of misspelled words and an occasional error of fact, and there are a few misquoted passages and several incorrect titles and publication dates in the bibliography.

*Louisiana State University*

WENDELL H. STEPHENSON

THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN 1860: AMERICAN CONSUMPTION LEVELS ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Edgar W. Martin*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. x, 451. \$4.50.)

FROM a rich field of American economic and social history—the living standard of pre-Civil War years—Dr. Martin has gathered copious samples of ore for the historian to smelt and refine. Much comes from the mines of others but still more from new and promising veins. Here is a broad compilation of statistics, facts, and opinions on how the average man lived during one important epoch of American development.

Dr. Martin's catalogue of the goods and services possessed by the man of 1860 is as variegated as Lewis Carroll's "ships and shoes and sealing wax." Grouped into broad categories: food, housing, clothing, medical care; educational, religious, and recreational facilities; they cover the span of things for which men spent money, from ice in Memphis to pocketknives in Connecticut and variety shows in San Francisco.

A high living standard has long been a major American goal. By 1860 Americans already regarded their country as the best in the world. And indeed, compared with Europeans, they consumed more food, lived in more comfortable houses, and wore more respectable clothing.

Yet their standard was in marked contrast to that of recent years. Prices and income were both decidedly lower. Daily wages ranged from one dollar to two dollars, but out of this the average workingman might buy two pounds of meat. An income of \$800 a year corresponded to \$2,000 in the late 1920's but of course would not buy the countless luxuries and laborsaving devices of the present day.

Dr. Martin has not attempted to picture the composite living standard of the average American. His data vary too much from region to region and among

various income groups. Nevertheless, one can surmise that the typical working-class family spent half its income for food and half of the food expenditure for meat. It might consume six and a half barrels of flour a year. Fruits and vegetables were expensive; milk was scarce and often adulterated or from swill-fed cows. If father was a drunkard, "with cigars three for a cent and whiskey a quarter a gallon dissipation was hardly an extravagance."

Wearing apparel gouged twice the hole in the family budget that it does at present—perhaps in part because of the voluminous skirts women wore. Crinolines at one time measured ten yards in circumference. Houses were large, roomy and substantial, but usually lacking in "convenience"—most notably, bathrooms. "Boston, with a population of 177,840 in 1860, had only . . . 3,910 bathtubs, and 9,864 water closets."

Expenditures for food, clothing, and shelter accounted for nine tenths or more of the average budget. The remainder went for the doctor, who charged fifty cents or a dollar a visit; for travel, which was comparatively costly; for taxes, averaging \$24 per year per family; schooling, church, and recreation. Well-to-do families spent far more in these categories. They might, for example, pay the thousand dollars it cost to maintain a son for four years in Harvard.

Information like this lies scattered in the tremendous, largely undigested, array of facts and figures the author presents. Some of it comes from source materials, a considerable part from works as standard as A. C. Cole's *Irrepressible Conflict*. The author declares he has often "had to make use of information which is at best incomplete, is almost always vague, and at times is biased." Repetitiousness and a ponderous style mar the readability. Despite these shortcomings, it is a valuable pioneering effort in a significant field.

*University of Maryland*

FRANK FREIDEL

LINCOLN AND THE PATRONAGE. By Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 375. \$4.50.)

THERE seems to be an analogy between politics and physiology. At least, both involve certain basic human needs which must be met and supplied, because, if ignored, they lead to malnutrition, and that may have serious consequences.

In a government like ours appointments to office provide a very necessary element to the functioning of the body politic; yet, until recently, it has been considered "not quite nice" to discuss either physiology or this phase of politics in the open. Oceans of printer's ink and whole tornadoes of breath have been expended in exhortations to patriotism and in lauding the virtues of one or another political party—in other words, providing citizens and voters with their spiritual food, but very little serious attention has been given to discussing a balanced political diet or the part that judicious rotation in office plays in refreshing our national bloodstream.



Each President, however, confronted by the need, has met it according to the wisdom vouchsafed him. The authors of *Lincoln and the Patronage* devote their volume to a conscientious and almost appallingly detailed study of the way in which Abraham Lincoln handled this question, which was one of the most acute as well as least attractive of the many problems he had to face.

Owing to the natural growth of the country, to defections caused by secession, and to the sudden need to create a vast volunteer army, he had not only the opportunity but the duty of making a far greater number of appointments to office than any of his predecessors. It was long before the days of Civil Service, and political custom accepted a grand turnover of officeholders as the logical and inevitable consequence of each change in administration.

A month after his election Mr. Lincoln wrote to William H. Seward, who was to be his Secretary of State, "in regard to the patronage sought with so much eagerness and jealousy, I have prescribed for myself the maxim 'Justice to all'; and I earnestly beseech your cooperation in keeping the maxim good." "Justice to all" is in theory at least the ultimate goal of Civil Service. In forming his cabinet he welcomed into this inner council the four men who had been his strongest rivals for the nomination, and, to the last commission he signed, he strove to live up to this ideal by recognizing the varied elements that had come together to form the Republican party, which was at the beginning of his presidency still so young that these elements had scarcely had time to fuse into a solid political mass. He took care to give geographical regions their due representation, to balance feuds and rivalries, to follow as closely as possible courtesy and established custom in consulting the wishes of senators and representatives and military officers about appointments in their particular fields, and, above all, in every case to insure loyalty to the Union.

The many pages of analysis in which the authors strive to find out why particular men were chosen are literally peppered with footnotes giving chapter and verse for each assertion made and are followed, moreover, by a bibliography containing upwards of five hundred titles. In their "Summary and Retrospect," the final chapter, the authors state their conclusion that Lincoln's handling of this complicated and delicate problem could scarcely have been improved upon:

As a politician he utilized the patronage in holding together diverse conflicting factions in common purposes. . . . Reared in the realism of the frontier and educated in the old school of Whig politics, he recognized the necessity of patronage as a weapon in party leadership under the American system. In being a competent politician he became a statesman. Had he not displayed his ability as a politician with such signal success, it is doubtful whether he would be regarded today as a statesman.

The authors seem almost apologetic in calling attention to Lincoln's personal skill in practical politics; and one could wish they had found it possible to emphasize a little more the discomforts and distress to which office-seekers subjected him.

How they crowded into the White House clamoring to be heard when his mind and heart were busy with problems of the war, until he "felt like a man letting rooms at one end of his house while the other end was on fire." How convinced he was that for every man gladdened by an appointment there must be eight or ten disappointed and perhaps alienated by lack of success. His remark to his secretaries when informed that he had varioloid that now they might call in the office-seekers, since "at last he had something he could give everyone."

But the object of Professors Carman and Luthin was far more serious than merely to write a readable volume. It was to explore and bring to notice an important if neglected phase of Lincoln's administration. Though so detailed the book is far from dull. It is not only well written but almost in spite of itself enlivened here and there by delightfully illuminating quotations, like the remark attributed to Joseph Medill when he called the conservative old Attorney General Edward Bates "a fossil of the Silurian era . . . who should never have been quarried out of the rocks in which he was imbedded."

*Washington, D. C.*

HELEN NICOLAY

THE PERSONAL FINANCES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By *Harry E. Pratt*. (Springfield: Abraham Lincoln Association. 1943. Pp. xiii, 198. \$3.50.)

THE belief widely prevalent even among historians that nothing new can be unearthed concerning Abraham Lincoln is dispelled by the publication of this carefully documented book. Using source materials almost exclusively—many for the first time—its author not only presents a most interesting account of Lincoln's personal finances in terms of early sources of income, earnings from the law, money lending, land holdings, savings during his presidency, family expenses, outlays occasioned by politics and financial views and business methods but explodes many myths which up to the present have been part of the Lincoln legend.

No one can read this book without realizing that the long-accepted statement that Lincoln was born and reared in abject poverty is wholly without foundation. Dr. Pratt shows unmistakably that at the time of Lincoln's birth his father was a sober, honest, industrious man and a landowner—in many respects above the average in his community. True, Lincoln's boyhood years were lean and until he became of age he had little opportunity to strike out for himself. And when he did he had the misfortune to become burdened with a debt of approximately \$1,000. The supposition that he was long saddled with this debt is not true, for here again Dr. Pratt leaves no doubt that it was paid off long before Lincoln's election to Congress.

Lincoln was not a seeker after monetary wealth yet neither was he impecunious and totally indifferent to its acquisition. In all his law practice he always maintained that justice was far more important than the question of his personal income. As a young lawyer his fees were small but during the fifties his practice

was relatively lucrative. Indeed, it was during these years that he became a money-lender, and when he left Springfield for Washington he had between \$9,000 and \$10,000 invested in interest-bearing notes and mortgages. It is not without significance that Lincoln never engaged extensively in land speculation though urged to do so by friends and associates. During his presidency he purchased over \$50,000 of Federal securities. Largely as a result of this his estate grew from \$15,000 in 1861 to \$90,000 at the time of his death. Justice David Davis, the administrator, was able to add \$21,000 to this amount by 1867 when the estate was distributed.

Lincoln's business methods were most informal. He had great faith in human goodness but did not hesitate to put pressure on those who he had reason to believe were dishonest. He realized that participation in politics involved expenditures of time and money and he gave freely of both, though he opposed winning elections by means of money alone. That he believed the party in power should award those who worked for its success there can be no doubt, and his failure to receive a Federal appointment from President Taylor caused bitter disappointment. The chapter on "Family Expenses" is illuminating not only for the light it throws on the Lincoln household but for the glimpses it gives of the social-economic life of Midwest America prior to 1860.

The value of this volume is enhanced by the inclusion of ten appendixes which cover many of the sources of income and more particularly the expenditures of the Lincoln family. The last of these appendixes gives a brief account of Mrs. Lincoln's finances from 1860 to the time of her death in 1882. Both Dr. Pratt and the Abraham Lincoln Association, under whose auspices this book appears, have made a valuable contribution to the better understanding of Lincoln and his times.

*Columbia University*

HARRY J. CARMAN

LINCOLN AND CALIFORNIA. By *Milton H. Shutes*. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1943. Pp. xiii, 269. \$3.00.)

THE author of this volume, an attorney in Oakland, California, has in the past published several articles on the Civil War period of California history. These include a study of Lincoln and the Almaden mine controversy and biographical sketches of three Californians who rose to national prominence during the war—Edward Dickinson Baker, Henry Wager Halleck, and Joseph Hooker. With these articles as a starting point, the author has attempted an extended study of Lincoln's relations with California, of "the many cords which bound the man and the state to each other."

It is doubtful if the subject deserved the lengthy treatment given it here. Since the work was undertaken, however, it should have been based on more adequate research than is evident. Apparently the author was unable or unwilling to give the time and effort to the book that he had given previously to the articles. In

fact, the only chapters in the book that indicate a degree of thoroughness in the preparation and writing are those based on previously published material. In the chapter entitled "Warriors" are found brief, interesting sketches of John C. Frémont, Henry W. Halleck, Joseph Hooker, and two lesser California military figures, Erasmus Darwin Keyes and Henry W. Naglee. This is one of the better chapters but it exemplifies one of the principal weaknesses of the book, a tendency to fill up space with material not altogether relevant to the subject of Lincoln and California. The author seemed unable to resist the temptation to go off into the byways. Perhaps the best examples of this padding found throughout the book are in the opening chapters, which represent an unskillful, confused effort to present Lincoln's views on the questions raised by the Mexican War cessions and at the same time to trace the political history of California during the period. Space might better have been filled with a more thorough study of subjects treated too lightly—California and the election of 1860, Lincoln and the patronage, or the growth of Lincoln sentiment in the state between the elections of 1860 and 1864.

Too few newspaper sources were used. The files of many of the interior papers are available in the Bancroft Library and the State Library, but the author was content to confine his research to four or five of the larger papers published in San Francisco and Sacramento, as if those papers reflected the views of the whole state. The three papers quoted almost to the exclusion of all others—the San Francisco *Bulletin* and *Alta California* and the Sacramento *Union*—were altogether Union and pro-Lincoln in sympathy. In the chapter on Lincoln and the patronage full use was not made of the best sources, the dispatches of James W. Simonton to the *Bulletin* and those of Noah Brooks to the *Union*.

The book is marred by the inclination of the author to dramatize his material. Frequent clichés are the result. Stonewall Jackson "cavorted up and down the Shenandoah Valley" (p. 97), and "summer ripened into autumn" (p. 41). More amusing is the badly mixed metaphor on page 16: "Thus the new party was launched on its hazardous trial trip on a Pacific slope that was anything but pacific."

Frequent minor errors were noted. Jeb Stuart is identified as "Stewart" (p. 85). The South threatened secession in 1830 (p. 49). Horace W. Carpentier's name is given as "Carpenter" (p. 144). The Wilderness campaign is placed "before Richmond" (p. 166), and the date of the battle of Chickamauga is given as September 19, 1864 (p. 116). Carl Sandburg's name is spelled "Sandberg" (p. 89). Names with the wrong middle initial appeared too often to pass off such mistakes as typographical errors.

For some unaccountable reason the biographical sketches of Edward Dickinson Baker and Noah Brooks, the two Californians closest to Lincoln, were included in the appendix along with a mass of undigested material, much of it irrelevant.

*Santa Ana, California*

JOHN DENTON CARTER

DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT, OUR FIRST ADMIRAL. By *Charles Lee Lewis*, United States Naval Academy. Volume II. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 1943. Pp. xvi, 513. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Lewis has been exceedingly fortunate in his choice of a biographical subject, for Farragut, according to Admiral Mahan, is one of the leading naval officers of all time. The choice of Lewis as biographer is also fortunate, for his long service as a professor at the United States Naval Academy, which has given him the naval point of view, and his ample practice in writing naval biography have especially qualified him for his task. Men of action are favorite biographical subjects, and among these none is more popular than the naval officer. In English biography the choicest subjects appear to be authors. No *Life* of a man of action is in the same class with Boswell's *Johnson*, Lockhart's *Scott*, and Trevelyan's *Macaulay*. In these books about famous authors by practiced writers biography reaches its peak. They are, however, limited in their appeal to the young who find their heroes among naval officers and other men of action.

The book under review is the second of two volumes, and, although it treats of only the last seventh of Farragut's life, it is more than a third longer than the first volume. This is not disproportionate, for the last years of the admiral include the period of the Civil War and all of his most distinguishing achievements. Professor Lewis may be summed up as a scholarly, thorough, painstaking, and honest writer. He has read all available material, much of which had not been used by earlier biographers, including Admiral Mahan. Among his manuscript sources are family letters, logbooks, archival documents in Washington, and the Farragut Papers in the Naval Academy Museum in Annapolis. His documentation is exceedingly detailed, and useful facts that did not fit into the narrative find an appropriate place in the notes. There are an elaborate bibliography and an appendix that treats extensively of statues, pictures, and books. Not much more about Farragut will ever come to light.

Professor Lewis' work supersedes all other narratives, with the possible exception of that of Admiral Mahan, whose compact book stresses naval strategy. Some later writer, however, with a different method may do a different *Farragut*. The scholar's biographical method is one of addition or elaboration and may be compared with the method of subtraction or condensation. The late Stefan Zweig liked to take his first draft of a thousand manuscript pages and reduce it to two hundred by omitting paragraphs and pruning sentences. Nothing erudite was permitted to impede the rapid flow of his narrative. Professor Lewis' book is a fine illustration of the inclusive method. Its many references to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and Assistant Secretary Gustavus V. Fox suggest that they are good subjects awaiting a biographer. Admiral David Dixon Porter fares badly at the hands of the professor; possibly a rejoinder is in order. One is impressed by the prominence of officers of Southern birth in the federal Navy—Farragut,

Henry H. Bell, Percival Drayton, Samuel P. Lee, Thornton A. Jenkins, and others. State loyalty appears to have been weaker in the old Navy than in the old Army. Foreign assignments broadened experience and loosened local or sectional ties. Farragut's devout character and domestic happiness are best revealed in the letters to his wife. As a naval officer he had almost everything—judgment, courage, ambition, aggression, and audacity.

*Washington, D. C.*

CHARLES O. PAULLIN

THE UNITED STATES NAVY: A HISTORY. By *Carroll Storrs Alden*, United States Naval Academy, and *Allan Westcott*, United States Naval Academy. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1943. Pp. x, 452. \$4.00.)

If Macaulay's schoolboy has survived, one wonders how much of the history of the United States Navy is included in his store of remembered truisms. One may be generous and assume that he has salvaged from his course in American civilization the names of four or five officers, three or four ships, two or three engagements, and a ringing phrase or two. Put all together these stray bits of intelligence don't add up to very much; certainly they give little indication of the nature and influence of sea power as a force in our national life.

It is not, of course, difficult to improve on the schoolboy's learning. To anyone who has read any of a half dozen reliable volumes on the subject the main outlines of our naval history are clear enough: The fleet action cutting off Cornwallis from aid at Yorktown. Trim frigates harrying the British commerce and men-of-war in 1812. The South, withering under the silent pressure of blockade relentlessly applied. Fire power, badly controlled but effective, blowing apart the desiccate empire of Spain. Escorted convoys, with the goods of war and survival fighting their way along to England in 1918 and, if the story is brought up to date, in 1941-43.

It is, or should be, for any American an impressive and significant record of achievement and success. Professor Alden and Professor Westcott in their intelligently organized and clearly written book have dealt with these matters and the other incidents in our naval history from the time of Ezek Hopkins to the landings in North Africa. They have taken pains to amplify their text with excellent charts, decorated it with handsome pictures, and leavened it with pen miniatures of our more important officers. But it is a twice-told tale the authors choose to tell and, despite their commendable efforts to place the Navy within the larger structure of our national life, it remains primarily a history of operations. This was quite obviously the authors' intent and it should be stated immediately that they have fulfilled their intentions admirably.

Operations are the topsoil in the field of naval history. Though it has been worked in the past, and in the present instance to advantage, it is doubtful that it will ever produce a crop to tempt many save the amateur or professional

strategist. The truth of the matter is that for most schoolboys and their teachers a survey history of military operations is as dull and profitless as the record of the moves in a chess game played ten years ago.

This in itself would not be unfortunate, if the preoccupation with the topsoil had not diverted attention of all but a few students from the rich materials that lie beneath. In the history of the Navy there can be found unanswered questions on national policy, constitutional government, and human conduct that are fit subjects for speculation and exploration. What for instance is the place of an armed service in any democracy? In what fashion has the Navy as a government service been fitted into the framework of our own government? How does this naval organization work and under what circumstances, fortuitous or calculated, was it established? What forces of diplomacy, of politics, of public opinion, determine the size and strength of the Navy? How have these forces affected our first line of defense in the past?

This list of questions need not be extended to its possible length. Nor should it be assumed that the authors failed to consider some of these elements in our naval history. But while they have treated the military operations with vitality and realism, they have rarely given more than an explanation of the theoretical and legal relationship between the Navy and the nation it serves. The nature of that relationship in all its economic, political, constitutional, and human manifestations still awaits adequate description.

*New York City*

ELTING E. MORISON

HISTORY OF MACY'S OF NEW YORK, 1858-1919: CHAPTERS IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE DEPARTMENT STORE. By *Ralph M. Hower*, Assistant Professor of Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, George F. Baker Foundation, Harvard University. [Harvard Studies in Business History, VII, edited by N. S. B. Gras.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xxvii, 500. \$3.75.)

THIS is an important volume in a field of economic history that has been, until recently, almost entirely ignored. As the history of wholesale and retail trade is more thoroughly examined new light will be thrown on population movements, industrial location, and perhaps most of all on some neglected origins of American social characteristics.

The history of Macy's is divided into two major periods with a short "interregnum" in between. From Rowland H. Macy's opening at Sixth Avenue and Fourteenth Street in 1858 until his death in 1877 the store progressed rapidly through his vigorous application of four major policies: sales for cash only, one price and no discounts, prices as low or lower than those of any competitor, and ingenious and continuous advertising. Following Macy's death the store coasted along with diminishing momentum until 1888 when Isidore and Nathan Strauss,



who already operated some leased departments, bought a substantial interest in the business. Aided by the mercantile and banking connections of the Strauss family and by the executive leadership of the two brothers, the store once more forged ahead. Wise twentieth century decisions, such as the establishment of the big new store at Thirty-fourth and Broadway in 1902, just before new transportation developments made that area a great shopping center, were also due to the ability of Isidore's sons Jesse and Percy.

The aggressive management of Macy and of the Strausses, aided by the tendency of people to "buy cheap" in hard times, seems to have been capable of overcoming the pressures of the business cycle. During the severe depressions from 1873 to 1879 and 1894 to 1896 sales volume increased steadily. Not until after 1907 do the fluctuations in sales show a tendency to coincide with the movements of business in general.

Professor Hower has had to do pioneer work in the field of retailing, unaided by any general synthesis or substantial monographic material of a historical nature. His well-balanced and highly objective analysis does credit to both himself and the management that permitted such a study. Innovations within the store are set, so far as possible, against a carefully prepared background of the general development of department store retailing. Where important omissions occur they seem due to the unevenness of the newspaper, biographical, and trade journal sources on which Professor Hower has had to rely for much of his information, or to gaps in the Macy records for the period before 1900. As in most companies general ledger entries, such as profit and loss and other consolidated accounts, are fairly complete for the earlier period, but payrolls, departmental details, and letters or memoranda explaining policy changes are usually lacking. A running appraisal of the sources used is hindered by collecting the footnotes at the back of the book. This practice may be excusable in a popular history, but it is an unnecessary annoyance in a scholarly volume of the "Harvard Studies in Business History."

*New York University*

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1919: THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE. Volumes I and II. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. lxiii, 575; lxxxii, 812. \$1.25, \$1.50.)

"WHETHER a more effective peace settlement in 1919, or a more effective execution of that settlement would have saved us from the devastating war in which we are now engaged is a question which it may not be possible even for the historians of later generations to settle beyond a doubt." So remarks E. Wilder Spaulding, chief of the Division of Research and Publication, Department of State, in the preface to these two volumes and adds truthfully that to avoid "the pitfalls of the period following the last war" there should be made "available to the public and to responsible officials alike, full and authoritative information on the peacemaking

of 1919." As he points out, while there has been a mass of unofficial information, "none of the governments represented at Paris in 1919 has yet given a satisfactorily complete record of the Conference to the public." Such a task is undertaken, so far as the United States is concerned, by the Department of State. Volumes I and II contain documents dealing with the period between the armistice of November 11, 1918, and the first meeting of the council, January 12, 1919. Volumes III through X will contain documents covering the conference itself, and Volume XI and the rest will deal with a variety of subjects including minutes and reports of commissions, negotiations with enemy powers, economic aspects of the conference's work and so on. The documents are drawn from archives of the Department of State and from files of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and are supplemented by appropriate selections from the papers of President Wilson, Secretary Lansing, House, Bliss, White, and others.

As to these two volumes now printed it is possible here only to give an idea of the scope of the materials. Over two hundred pages deal with "American Plans and Preparations for the Peace Conference," including many documents showing the inauguration and work of "The Inquiry." Correspondence regarding representation of other than the major powers, policies and proposals of the major powers, suggestions about a League of Nations, as well as a variety of other proposals for consideration of the conference, fill the first volume. Volume II includes correspondence with and about Germany—the armistice and its working, German peace proposals, economic and political conditions in Germany; about Austria and Hungary, with documents from the Coolidge Mission; about Bulgaria and Turkey, as well as territorial issues raised by the new states. Russian affairs, matters pertaining to the Far East, financial questions which show that the matter of inter-Allied debts had even in these preliminary stages raised its head, reparations as viewed by the various belligerents, food relief and the blockade, and regulation of trade are covered by a vast array of documents.

Cross references to documents already printed in previously published volumes of *Foreign Relations* show how one must have at hand a variety of sources adequately to use this new material. Very occasionally there is indication of omission of a document, but whether this has been left out through policy or because it is mere routine and would add nothing to the story is not explained.

As the whole series is set up it is apparent that these, together with the projected volumes, some of which await only congressional appropriations to appear, will give a comprehensive account, from the American point of view, of what happened and why it happened and how the Treaty of Versailles took form. The complete story, of course, will not become visible until other interested governments publish their documents. Perhaps the publication of the American material will not change the picture we now have of the peace negotiations, but much significant detail is brought to light in these two volumes.

*University of Minnesota*

L. B. SHIPPEE

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1928. Three volumes. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942, 1943. Pp. cxxiii, 1057; cxiv, 1024; cvi, 1006. \$2.25, \$2.00, \$2.00.)

THE documents selected for the regular publication for the year 1928 now constitute three stout volumes of diplomatic correspondence with forty-eight national governments, including the self-governing British Dominions. Nearly one third of the total documentary matter published pertains to subjects of general, rather than bilateral, negotiation and is a significant demonstration of the expansion of multilateral negotiations in American diplomacy. The subjects treated reflect humanitarian and peace strivings in the aftermath of the first World War, when the New World seemed perfectly safe and the United States could therefore be a champion of peace and disarmament; for example, the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris, disarmament proposals, control of the munitions industries, control of armaments export, export and import restrictions, slavery and liquor traffic in Africa, narcotic drugs, alien property, emigration and immigration; the sixth international conference of American states; Latin-American boundary disputes.

It may be assumed that for the more important of these general multilateral negotiations only a small portion of the relevant documents has been exposed here, whether because of limitations of space or diplomatic caution. Negotiation of the Pact of Paris receives 158 printed pages (seventy-six pages of which related merely to adherences of non-signatories to the pact) whilst a complete documentary history of that celebrated negotiation doubtless would require a supplement of several volumes. The Havana Pan-American Conference fills eighty pages, including texts of conventions; a full publication of the diplomatic correspondence relating to the preparation and conduct of the conference would require much more space. The principal revelations on this subject are the correspondence with Cuba, in which the United States successfully opposed the presence of a League of Nations representative at Havana, and the highly important instructions of the United States delegation to Havana. The latter are of great significance, reflecting, as they do, the attitude of the United States toward the Latin-American projects for the codification of an American system of public international law, including the Doctrine of Non-Intervention. A definition of the Monroe Doctrine, contained in these instructions, is a new document for the historian of that policy. Extremely enlightening to the student of inter-American relations is the statement in the instructions (p. 585) of opposition to the inclusion of Canada in the Pan-American system, because, "If colonies, possessions or dominions, whose foreign relations are controlled by European States, were represented in these conferences, the influences and policies of European Powers would be injected into the discussion and disposition of questions affecting the political entities of this hemisphere."

The historian of our foreign relations must be grateful for the publication of such source material as is here made available and sigh for what is withheld; for example, there is no section on Argentina for 1928, a government also omitted in

the *Foreign Relations* for previous years. Conceivably a most enlightening supplement could be published sometime of diplomatic correspondence of the United States relative to that singular nation.

It is satisfying to be able to announce that economies in government printing so far have not seriously curtailed forthcoming volumes of *Foreign Relations*, although the reviewer understands they have caused some of the future volumes of Miller's invaluable *Treaties* to be postponed indefinitely. There is plenty of official dead and rotten wood in the government printing program for the economy ax before it comes to these live growths.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY: ORIGINS AND BACKGROUNDS. By Gwladys Spencer. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. xvii, 473.)

THIS is a well-documented study of the cultural and economic backgrounds from which grew the movements leading to the establishment of the Chicago Public Library. The Chicago Lyceum established the first library of a general nature in 1834; the Young Men's Association library was organized in 1841, changed its name in 1868 to the Chicago Library Association, and through its supporters and other helpers created by 1870 a widespread desire for a *free* public library, probably an endowed one. In 1871 newspapers began to print pleas for the establishment of a public library with tax support similar to that given the public schools.

Miss Spencer treats clearly and fully the part played by the private libraries, by social, specialized, and other types of libraries, and by civic leaders in the young city in developing this realization of the need and value of a library. She has made an exhaustive use of the available manuscript and printed records, including the newspapers of the day.

The great fire beginning October 8, 1871, destroyed most of the books in the city. Shortly after the partial resumption of general business and trade, however, the need for a library was again voiced in the press. A law library was organized; the Chicago Historical Society library and others began to recoup their book losses or to start anew. In England a project to collect a gift of books for the stricken city was planned by A. H. Burgess and sponsored by Thomas Hughes. This gift of over eight thousand volumes spurred the citizens to greater efforts in planning for the free library toward which so many had long been working.

The next step seemed to be an appeal to the state legislature for authority for the city to establish a tax-supported library. A citizens' committee went to Springfield with the draft of a bill but found that one for the same purpose, written by E. S. Wilcox of Peoria, was already before the legislature and had won considerable support. With a few amendments and with the combined support of Chicago, Peoria, and other members of the legislature, this bill was passed with an emer-

agency clause and became a law March 7, 1872. The law was a carefully devised, somewhat detailed statute of general application, authorizing tax-supported free libraries and providing for their management; it has been used as a model in other states.

The account of the efforts to secure the passage of this law, authorizing any city, incorporated town, village, or township to establish and maintain a tax-supported free library, is told in detail, is based on all the primary and secondary sources available, and evidently settles several long-standing questions. The place of the library in the framework of the city government of Chicago, the careful evaluation of the various factors leading to the establishment of the new library, and the objectives of the library are all set forth in a convincing and thought-provoking manner and in language that makes easy reading.

Eleven appendixes giving as many important documents, a bibliography of printed and manuscript sources, primary and secondary, and a good index complete the volume, which sets a high standard for similar hoped-for studies of other typical libraries in this country and finally of the American public library movement in general.

*University of Illinois*

P. L. WINDSOR

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER: AN AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. By Rackham Holt. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1943. Pp. viii, 342. \$3.50.)

GEORGE Washington Carver, born a slave, poverty-ridden as a child, and conditioned by the inflexible hardships of his position as a Negro, overcame all these obstacles, and many more, to become one of America's most famous and beloved scientists.

Dr. Carver got his education the hard way. He learned at an early age that the little school in the little town in Missouri where he spent the first nine years of his life was not for Negroes. But he possessed an insatiable thirst for knowledge that was not to be denied. At the age of nine he left the warm protection of the Carver home to satisfy that longing. His path was by no means easy. His education was interrupted time and again by poor health or a lack of funds; he met discouragement from all sides, and he was constantly reminded of his race. He allowed nothing, however, to deter him from the goal he had set for himself. Always his motto was "I can do it." As a student at Simpson College in Iowa and at Iowa State College at Ames he became one of the best-loved and most respected members of the student body. He was the first and the last of his race ever to hold a post on the faculty at his alma mater, Iowa State College.

Even as a young man at Iowa State his genius as a botanist, mycologist, and agricultural chemist was recognized. When the call came for him to come to

Tuskegee to help Booker T. Washington develop that great institution, it was with great reluctance that the college let him go.

The story of his rise to fame at Tuskegee has become a legend. The department of agriculture which he was to head when he came there was nonexistent. From an open shed, with no equipment and few students, the Agricultural Department and Experiment Station at Tuskegee was developed into one of the finest in the nation under the guiding genius of this man. He found the South poverty-stricken and groping hopelessly to free itself from an economic slavery imposed upon it by its one-crop system of farming. He taught and demonstrated to the farmers of the South, black and white, how to conserve their soil and to bring back to productivity soil that was regarded as useless.

From the apparently worthless discards of the impoverished South he created great wealth for its people. The peanut industry, valued at \$200,000,000, owes and has acknowledged its indebtedness to him. One county erected a statue in his honor. Congress paid him a tribute never intended or before accorded to a member of his race. The oldest scientific society of Great Britain, the Friends Royal Society, elected him to membership, an honor enjoyed by very few American scientists. If any man has revealed to the South more of its hidden and neglected resources than Dr. Carver, he has not yet come to public attention. From peanuts, sweet potatoes, and clay he has created hundreds of products—milk, flour, meal, paper, ink, plastics, dyes, synthetic rubber, starch. He made paper from slash pine as early as 1910 and a new blue dye from red clay that was “seventy-four times bluer than blue.” He demonstrated the method and value of simple dehydration and the usefulness of the soy bean long before they were discovered by commercial agriculture. He gave all these to the South and to all mankind and asked nothing in return.

This biography of Dr. Carver is more than a human document of the individual. Its real significance lies in the fact that it portrays very sharply the struggle and rise of a people hemmed in on all sides by prejudice and restricted to a narrow sphere of activity. That the individual and the group can rise in spite of these handicaps reveals the peculiar nature of the American tradition.

The narrative is somewhat repetitious and sometimes not entirely coherent. However, in the main, Mrs. Holt has done a skillful and a sympathetic portrait of a great American.

*Fisk University*

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

TEXAS, THE LONE STAR STATE. By *Rupert Norval Richardson*, Professor of History, Hardin-Simmons University. [Prentice-Hall History Series, Carl Wittke, Editor.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1943. Pp. xix, 590. \$5.00.)

If this is not the long-awaited comprehensive and definitive history of Texas, it is adequate to serve as such, in the opinion of this reviewer, until a work of

recognized superior excellence appears to displace it. Dr. Richardson avows his purpose as being that of providing, so far as the limitations of a single volume will permit, a complete survey of the history of Texas. The book, he says, is intended not only for the use of college students in Texas history but for the reading public as well. He suggests that it should prove useful to teachers of history in public schools and as supplementary reading by high-school teachers in Texas history. A careful reading and thorough checking of Dr. Richardson's book warrant the statement that for once such ambitious intentions in connection with a history of Texas have been more than satisfactorily fulfilled.

The work is unique in that it really is an adequate account of the history of the region which is now Texas, from the earliest known times to the present day. It includes between the covers of a single volume the story of man's residence on this particular area of the earth's surface, so far as modern scholarship and research have revealed it to date. Yet it completes that part of it which antedates the admission of Texas into the American Union in 167 pages. The remainder of the book, some 383 pages, is devoted to the state of Texas, thus fully justifying its title—*Texas, the Lone Star State*. Indeed, nearly half of the book, 265 pages, deals with the period since 1876, the last sixty-seven years.

Dr. Richardson combines the chronological and topical methods of narration admirably, with happy results for student and general reader alike. And he attains something else, giving an impression of movement in space and time, of the population spreading steadily westward on an advancing frontier, and of the growth of a people—economically, socially, culturally. His book provides by long odds the best history of western Texas so far published, and in this respect he makes a considerable original contribution to Southwestern history. But, taken as a whole, the book is especially a revelation of the immense amount of competent research in the field of Texas history done during the last fifty years. Dr. Richardson here gives us at last an adequate presentation of the rich fruits of this research and enhances its value greatly by adding a critically appraised bibliography to each chapter.

*Dallas, Texas*

PETER MOLYNEAUX

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN VERMONT. By *Winston Allen Flint*.

With an Introduction by Paul F. Douglass. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1941. Pp. 110. Cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.)

It is seldom that the old-style, small, rural state of Vermont gets sober attention. Reams of paper have been covered with words about Vermont. But almost all that is written is more or less literary in character, concerned with the general color and quality of Vermont insofar as it affects the everyday personal existence of people in the old state. The Vermont color, the Vermont quality of life have



had an immense amount of attention and appreciation, both from Vermonters (none of us at all abashed to praise our own state to the skies) and from some of the many writers and artists who so greatly enrich summer life in the Green Mountains.

Once in a while, pleased as we are with the friendly comments of our summer residents and completely as we take for granted the affectionate loyalty of our own people, there flits across our collective Vermont mind the idea that there is too much of the idyllic in all this Vermontiana and that everybody ignores too much the grave problems, by no means solved, of modern Vermont life—the approach of the modern tension between capital and labor, the so-called sub-marginal land, the draining away of our young people, etc. So it is a notable addition, because so different from the chatty pleasant vignettes of Vermont life with which we are familiar—this serious, factual study by a competent scholar of a phase of modern political life in Vermont, published by the American Council on Public Affairs.

In the preface to Professor Flint's monograph we find the phrase "The inter-relationship between the large [that is, the national] and the local, is the subject of this work." An unscholarly reviewer may perhaps permit herself a more colloquial expression of the same idea: the subject of this work is what happens when an irresistible force—the tremendous sweep across the nation of modern, progressive, political and social ideas and aspirations—meets an immovable body—that is, a political party which is (by virtue of the majority of votes it commands) *the* political party in a sot old one-party rural state.

The story is set down with the dignity and painstaking care for factual accuracy and completeness of the professional historian. It was not written for the general reader or the listener to fifteen-minute predigested radio broadcasts. But for all its disregard of the ordinary general reader's inability to keep his attention for long on serious matters, the tale unfolded is a stirring one. Outside the state the brochure will be read probably only by other professors of history and duly filed by them and by librarians as valuable source material about the political history of the American Federation. But inside Vermont—our general public is, we like to think, a rather especially literate one—it will certainly be read by many and many a thoughtful citizen, grocer, lumberman, woman's club member, doctor, lawyer, farmer, clergyman—not historians at all, just voters of our old commonwealth who feel the responsibility for knowing the facts, which is a consequence of the privilege of voting.

I can see them, of a winter evening, looking over the table of contents, "Caucus Reform," "Supervision of Public Service Corporation," "The Struggle for a Direct Primary," "Labor Regulation and Factory Inspection," "Workmen's Compensation Act," etc., etc., picking out, to begin with, the subject closest to their interests and going to it. What they find in it will horrify them (as in the brief factual account on page 79 of dreadful working conditions—as late as 1912—in the

woolen mills in Winooski). Some of it will raise their dander. All of it will interest them.

*Arlington, Vermont*

DOROTHY CANFIELD

THE LATIN AMERICAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES: AN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION. By *Samuel Flagg Bemis*, Farnam Professor of Diplomatic History and Inter-American Relations in Yale University. [Institute of International Studies, Yale University.] (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1943. Pp. xiv, 470. \$4.50.)

THIS timely volume is not only a frank interpretation of our foreign policy in America but also a very interesting history of our inter-American diplomacy and, to some extent, a defense. It would be difficult to find anyone better qualified than Professor Bemis to write such a study.

Here is the story of the Monroe Doctrine, manifest destiny, modern imperialism, the Good Neighbor Policy, and hemisphere solidarity. In defense of our expansion, Bemis says: "The Manifest Destiny of continental expansion has been the strongest and most enduring expression of American nationalism, and nationalism is still the strongest historical force in the modern world." But this is distinguished from the new kind of manifest destiny which found its expression in modern imperialism. The author approves of our expansion into the Pacific as far as to Hawaii, but not to the Philippines.

Central America and the Caribbean islands came naturally within our sphere of "protective imperialism" after 1898. The guarding and policing of weaker states in the neighborhood was done primarily for strategic rather than economic reasons and is aptly called our "Panama Policy." The double danger from the rising naval power of Germany and Japan gave the setting for Theodore Roosevelt's elastic interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in his famous Big Stick corollary. Yet the intervention in Panama in 1903 is characterized as "the only really black mark in the Latin American policy of the United States." This indicates the author's viewpoint. But he spoke also of the "inept" and "blundering" policies of Secretary Knox and President Taft. On the other hand, he characterized "Dollar Diplomacy" as an "easily misusable journalistic alliteration" which has been greatly overemphasized.

The paradoxical policy of Woodrow Wilson is carefully analyzed. One finds the idealistic urge to extend the obligations of self-government interlocked with "Protective Imperialism." Yet Wilson, too, was desirous of becoming a good neighbor. The Republican period after Wilson witnessed the "Liquidation of Imperialism," due largely to public opinion which was raising its voice in opposition to all imperialism, even though it was "protective" or "benevolent." Thereby the Republicans contributed to the Good Neighbor Policy, withholding, however,

any definite promise to be good. The gap between the Republican and Democratic policy was bridged by the valuable services of Sumner Welles, who gave direction and unity to a policy which was finally to be established as a principle. The author has traced with considerable detail the evolution of the Doctrine of Non-Intervention. He reminds us that the Good Neighbor Policy was not started because of Hitler; few people took Hitler seriously in 1933. Even the "Exchange of Culture and Humanity," which rose from such meager beginnings, became eventually an effective war agency against the Axis.

Dr. Bemis does not hesitate to put a bit of Bemis into his book, a fact which undoubtedly adds to its interest. His keen and analytical mind generally finds convincing material to support his conclusions. He writes exceedingly well. He is a red-blooded nationalist and a forthright man who refers to his opponents as "timid intellectuals" who speak in the "anaemic accents of philosophical pedantry." As it happens, the reviewer found only a few points for disagreement.

"The *conquistadores*," says Bemis, "came from Spain to seek their fortune in the shape of gold and silver and to return home with it as soon as possible." The first part of the statement may be true, but the latter part repeats a popular impression which is not supported by the facts. The author also suggests that Mexico could have avoided the wars with Texas and the United States if she had only been willing to sell Texas. Poland might have avoided war with Germany in the same manner. The most obvious example of a bias may be found in the treatment of the oil controversy under the Cárdenas administration in Mexico. The Mexican side of the story is completely ignored except to be dismissed as the act of a "labor" government.

For the most part the material in this book has been handled in an admirable manner. There are fifty-eight pages of notes containing explanations and references. There are also six tabulations and thirteen maps and diagrams. This stimulating and lucid account of our inter-American relations deserves to be and, no doubt, will be widely read.

*University of Wichita*

JOHN RYDJORD

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY: MINUTES OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1671-1674. Edited by *E. E. Rich*, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. With an Introduction by Sir John Clapham, Vice-Provost of King's College, Cambridge. (Toronto: Champlain Society. 1942. Pp. lxviii, 276, xiii.)

In the important series of volumes published by the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society this is the first to deal with documents throwing light on the beginnings of the Hudson's Bay Company. Sir John Clapham has written an introduction, though the work of the editor of the series, Mr. E. E.

Rich, and of Miss Alice Johnson is evident at every turn. They have also had the advantage of the work of Miss Grace Lee Nute on the biographies of Radisson and Groseilliers.

The introduction is concerned with the basic problem of regulating private trade and of building up an organization designed to prevent fraudulent trading. As the Spaniards had difficulty in controlling gold as a commodity of light bulk and high value, the Hudson's Bay Company had difficulty in preventing thefts of fur. Both commodities because of their characteristics required a closely knit, highly concentrated organization in marked contrast, for example, with the organization of the fishing industry and the timber trade. Sir John Clapham has traced the steps taken to suppress private trade. The main body of the work is the minutes of the general court, the committee, and subcommittee from October 24, 1671, to July 22, 1674.

There are extensive notes, biographical accounts of the chief contributors to the capital fund, and important material on supplies and suppliers and wages. The importance of relations with the court to the chief contributors suggests that the company was pre-eminently a Restoration product and that it probably could not have emerged under Cromwell. Appendixes include the ledger accounts of the governor, deputy governors, and members of the committee from 1671 to 1674, the adventures named in the charter of 1670, and of ship captains, 1668-74. They also include the accounts of charges of the voyages from 1668 to 1672 and of Radisson and Groseilliers. Finally detailed biographical accounts add to the value of the work. It will be apparent that the volume is of first importance to students of economic history in the Restoration period with special reference to the development of trade in Hudson Bay and throws fresh light on the foundations of the oldest company in modern history. I have noted one minor error—the Huron villages were destroyed before 1650 (p. 232).

*University of Toronto*

HAROLD A. INNIS

THE RISE OF THE ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Malcolm MacLaren*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 225. \$3.75.)

THE book consists of nine chapters, beginning with early history and carrying through the development of electrical communication systems, means for electrical illumination, motors and their applications, direct current generators, precision instruments and methods for electrical measurements, switchboards and systems of distribution primarily intended for direct current operation, early efforts with alternating currents, and finally the commercial application of alternating current systems to electrical power generation, transmission, and utilization. The author of this book was well prepared by education, observation, and contacts to write a syllabus of dates and relations of this interesting development.

The first chapter covers that most romantic period in discoveries relating to electricity and magnetism which extends from the middle of the eighteenth century, when Benjamin Franklin was exercising himself as an active experimenter in addition to his other activities of many facets, to the middle of the nineteenth century, when Michael Faraday and Joseph Henry had completed their primary researches in electromagnetic induction and Henry had moved to Washington to become secretary and director of the newly established Smithsonian Institution. The chapter is a good summary of the character and sequence of the discoveries and shows the considerable number of men who were engaged in these earlier researches but how few accomplished the dominant results. This chapter and several succeeding ones, however, might have been made more significant by the introduction of brief biographical notes of the men who among all those mentioned laid the deepest foundations of the science and the arts based on the science.

Chapters II and III, dealing with electrical communications and systems of electrical illumination, are also confined rather exclusively to the earlier experiences; but, in contrast to the first chapter, emphasize invention rather than fundamental scientific discoveries. Nevertheless, the romantic character of the work is more clearly indicated here than in chapter I. As the laying of the first Atlantic cable was romantic to the first degree in connection with the development of electrical communications, as also were Bell's early experiences with telephone invention, the author might have done yet fuller justice to these without diverting the book from the character of a syllabus. Certain slips appear in chapter III, notably where the so-called enclosed arc lamp is ascribed to Professor Lionel S. Marks of Harvard University instead of to Consulting Engineer Louis B. Marks of New York City.

The reviewer is of the opinion that the author does not give to Edison the full credit for the modern incandescent lamp which he deserves. In the fullest legal sense, as well as in the understanding of fully informed learned circles, Edison was the first to produce an incandescent lamp consisting of a filament mounted on leading-in wires and hermetically sealed in a surrounding glass bulb from which air has been exhausted. This is the essence of the incandescent lamp as we have come to use it, and Edison's valid patents clearly described it.

The remaining chapters of the book are particularly in Professor MacLaren's special field—the field of electric power—and they swing along with vigor. The complexity of conditions (especially in the street-railway field) is ground for difficulty in accurately epitomizing the historical thread; but it is not correct to ascribe to the Thomson-Houston Electric Company a purchase of the Sprague electric traction patents.

In discussing the development of electric generators, the author does not mention the empirical formulae of Weston and Kapp and the rational scientific formula of Hopkinson for predetermining the design of magnetic circuits for machines. These formulae were such important contributions to the satisfactory

designing of electrical generators and motors that they played a real part in the rise of electrical industry, and it is the reviewer's opinion that the author might well have included them as a part of his story. Also, Weston's portable electrical measuring instruments and his introduction with those instruments of the shunt possessing negligible temperature coefficient produced such an influence that they deserve a fuller place in a syllabus relating to the rise of the industry. The brief but good discussion by the author of the original procedure in selecting the units of electrical quantities is to be praised.

Barring slips here and there, this book is a syllabus that is worthy of attention from those who have an interest in the dates, the order, and the principal relations in the rise of the electrical industry during the nineteenth century; but a book showing the romance of that rise from the early discoveries to the present date, with its great contributions to improved processes and products of industry and improved comforts and conveniences for the housewife and her family, is yet to be written. The reviewer wishes that Professor MacLaren had turned his thoughts in that direction.

*Cambridge, Massachusetts*

DUGALD C. JACKSON

## \* \* \* Other Recent Publications \* \* \*

### General History

THE SEA OF MEMORIES: THE STORY OF MEDITERRANEAN STRIFE, PAST AND PRESENT. By *Charles Moran*. (New York, Scribner's, 1942, pp. x, 320, \$3.50.) Lieutenant Commander Charles Moran, U.S.N.R. (Retired), who acquired during his early schooling in France, the Riviera, and Algiers an abiding love for the Mediterranean, has put between book covers in this story of the sea of memories the product of a lifetime of travel, reading, and reflection. The author prefers not to call his writing history, having adopted what he calls "a frankly Scheherazade attitude towards the Mediterranean." Perhaps the book may best be described as a series of chronicles from myth to Mussolini, bound together by the thread of strife which has pitted tribes, city states, and empires against each other in Mediterranean waters. These tales of Xenophon, Hannibal, Roger de Flor, Jacques Coeur, Don Juan of Austria, and Napoleon, to mention only a few, are pleasantly narrated with apt quotations from the classics, occasional purple passages, and a few unexpected lapses into modern slang as when a Knights Templar is described as having "made the famous pass at Rebecca in Ivanhoe." In the reviewer's opinion the author deals too harshly with Mr. Churchill's Dardanelles strategy in 1915 and is somewhat unfortunate in his comments on campaigns in the present war, which, it is only fair to add, were written on December 1, 1941. To write of Italy as approaching her objectives in this war "with intense realism" or to argue that in the Grecian campaign of 1940-41 that state "had sadly underestimated the extent and promptness of British aid" is dubious to say the least. Nor would the Australian, New Zealander, and South African welcome the description of Wavell's troops in Egypt as the "Anglo-Colonial" army. The volume is handsomely illustrated, has maps on the end papers, and an index.

F. H. SOWARD

ISTORIJA VOENNOGO ISKUSSTVA S DREVNEISHIKH VREMEN DO PEROVOI IMPERIALISTICHESKOI VOINY 1914-1918 GODOV. By *E. Razin*. Part I and Part II. (Moscow, Gosvoenizdat, 1939, 1940; pp. 208; 440.) History of military art from antiquity to the first imperialist war, 1914-18.

ISTORIJA DIPLOMATII. Edited by *V. P. Potemkin*. Volume I. (Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1941, pp. 566.) History of diplomacy.

ALBRECHT DURER. By *Erwin Panofsky*. Two volumes. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1943, pp. 321; 242, \$20.00.)

SUPPLEMENT TO "BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1815 TO 1939." Compiled by *Lowell Joseph Ragatz*, Professor of History in the George Washington University. (Washington, Paul Pearlman, 1943, pp. xii, 74, \$1.00.) "This supplement is intended for use with the original work which appeared serially over a period of two years and which became available in completed form in 1942." (See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII, 389.)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF AFRICAN HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. Compiled by *Lowell Joseph Ragatz*, Professor of History in the George Washington University (*Ibid.*, 1943, pp. vi, 47, \$1.00.) "This bibliography was originally compiled to accompany lectures given to



members of the Lend-Lease North African Mission at the Mission Training School in Washington, D. C., during February and March of the current year. It is now being published because of keen interest in the area arising out of our current occupation."

BABIDSKIE VOSSTANIIA V IRANE (1848-1852). By *M. S. Ivanov*. [Trudy Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR, Vol. XXX.] (Moscow, 1939, pp. 173.) The Babil uprising in Iran, 1848-52.

NA PUTIAKH K MIROVOI VOINE 1914-1918 GODOV. By *A. A. Mogilevich* and *M. E. Airapetian*. (Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1940, pp. 293.) The road to the World War, 1914-18.

MANEVRENNYI PERIOD PERVOI MIROVOI IMPERIALISTICHESKOI VOINY 1914 GODA. By *A. Kolenkovskii*. (Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe Voennoe izdatel'stvo, 1940, pp. 367.) The war of movement during the first imperialist World War, 1914.

MIROVAIA VOINA 1914-1918 GODOV. By *A. Zaionchkovskii*. Volume III. (Moscow, Gosvoenizdat, 1939.) The World War of 1914-18.

INTERNATIONAL LAW DOCUMENTS, 1941. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. vi, 167.)

INDIA: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW. By *Frederick Whyte*. [London, Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1943, pp. 76, \$1.00.)

WORLD ORGANIZATION: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Hans Aufricht*. (New York, Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library, 8 West 40th Street, 1943, pp. 16, gratis.)

THE REPAIR AND PRESERVATION OF RECORDS. By *Adelaide E. Minogue*. [Bulletins of the National Archives, Number 5.] (Washington, National Archives, September, 1943, pp. 93-148.) The appearance at the present time of a short and concise pamphlet on the most modern techniques of repairing and preserving records, which may because of the war be harmed and not properly cared for, is of value and interest to archivists throughout this country. To archivists in war-torn countries abroad who have ahead a task of rehabilitation, the usefulness of its information cannot be overestimated. The description of technical equipment at the National Archives, particularly the role of air-conditioning in modern records preservation, has special value to states, municipalities, and business firms now making plans for the construction in the postwar period of modern records depositories. Regrettably the methods of preserving such special types of records as photographs, motion pictures, and sound recordings are omitted. Included are several graphic photographs of the superior equipment of the National Archives.

BOOKMEN'S HOLIDAY: NOTES AND STUDIES WRITTEN AND GATHERED IN TRIBUTE TO HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG. (New York, New York Public Library, 1943, pp. xiii, 573, \$5.00.) The thousands of scholars who have found their studies and researches enriched by the treasures of the New York Public Library will applaud the appearance of a volume of essays brought together under the imprint of the library as a tribute to Dr. Harry Miller Lydenberg, its director from 1934 to 1941 and a moving force in its development since 1896. The notes and studies are grouped in sections under the rubrics "Americana," "Bookmen and Authors," "Books in the Medieval World," "Graphic Arts," "History and Historians," "Libraries and Librarians," "Magic and Witchcraft," and "Printers, Printing, and Binding." Each section

is preceded by a brief tribute to some phase of Mr. Lydenberg's varied career and widely extended interests. After reading them one agrees with Mr. MacLeish's cable from London to the editor of the volume: "No man in our time in America more fully merits [the] tribute you are preparing."

## ARTICLES

- PITMAN B. POTTER. Universalism versus Regionalism in International Organization. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Oct.
- ARNOLD BRECHT. Distribution of Powers between an International Government and the Governments of National States. *Ibid.*
- CARLO SFORZA. A Basic Condition of International Reconstruction: Freedom of Opinion and Press. *Ibid.*
- EGON RANSHOFEN-WERTHEIMER. International Administration: Lessons from the Experience of the League of Nations. *Ibid.*
- DINKO TOMAŠIĆ. Reconstruction in Central Europe. *Ibid.*
- JEROME ROSENTHAL. Attitudes of Some Modern Rationalists to History. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Oct.
- CHARLES N. R. MCCOY. The Place of Machiavelli in the History of Political Thought. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Aug.
- VICTOR W. VON HAGEN. Paper and Civilization. *Sci. Monthly*, Oct.
- F. R. FALKNER. Die Besiedlung Afrikas durch Europäer als Beispiel geographisch-historischer Wechselwirkung. *Schweizer Geograph*, Feb., May.
- MORTON G. WHITE. Historical Explanation. *Mind*, July.
- EARL LESLIE GRIGGS. The Humanities, Scholarship, and the War. *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, Autumn.
- ANDREW GYORGY. The Application of German Geopolitics: Geo-Sciences. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Aug.
- LEWIS L. LORWIN. Geo-Economics versus Geo-Politics: A Basis for United Nations Policy. *World Economics*, Jan.
- Labor Conditions in Bulgaria. *Monthly Labor Rev.*, Oct.
- LUIGI STURZO. La questione dei stati baltici e il nuovo ordine. *Mondo*, Oct.
- FRANCIS BORGIA STECK. A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands. *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Sept.
- THANASSIS AGHNIDES. What Ancient Greece Means to the Modern Greek. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, June.
- JOEL CARMICHAEL. Notes on Arab Unity. *For. Affairs*, Oct.
- KENSIL BELL. Some Early Experiences with Iron and Steam at Sea. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Aug.
- JOHN J. LONDON. How "Cleopatra's Needle" Was Brought to America. *Ibid.*

Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

THE RELIGION OF GREECE IN PREHISTORIC TIMES. By *Axel W. Persson*. [Sather Classical Lectures, Volume Seventeen, 1942.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1942, pp. 189, \$2.00.) Reconstructing the religion of a remotely past civilization which has left no written records is certainly a fascinating, if at best a hazardous, undertaking. It must be based chiefly on the subjective interpretation of monuments and other archaeological remains which are judged to be of a religious nature. Analogies from better known contemporary and neighboring cultures are also admissible as supporting evidence, and presumable survivals in later periods likewise have their evidential value; but when all is said and done it is seldom

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

possible to advance very far beyond the merely probable. An ingenious and interesting study of this kind formed the subject of the Sather Lectures given at the University of California in 1941 by Professor Persson and now handsomely published in the volume under review. A painstaking examination of the scenes represented on twenty-eight selected Mycenaean gold rings provides the archaeological foundation for the structure. By acute and penetrating observation of details, often missed by the uninitiated eye, Persson concludes that the scenes constitute a definite series illustrating a cycle of vegetation that may be followed through the successive seasons of winter, spring, summer, and autumn. He thus recognizes a link between Mycenaean religion and the fertility and vegetation cults common to early man in the Near and Middle East. The general conclusion is certainly possible, perhaps even probable, although some of the detailed interpretations seem doubtful, disputable, or rather far-fetched, and few are actually certain. Obviously this is no mathematical demonstration which may be ended with a Q.E.D. In spite of many uncertainties imposed in part by the nature of the subject, the book contains a mass of useful observations, comments, and ideas that may lead to further investigation and study; and there is in particular much material of value relating to the survivals of Mycenaean and Minoan cults and myths into classical Greek times. Altogether the work is a veritable *tour de force* showing Professor Persson's bold imagination, deep insight, and resourceful ingenuity in attacking problems difficult of solution.

CARL W. BLEGEN

THE FIVE ATTIC TRIBES AFTER KLEISTHENES. By *W. Kendrick Pritchett*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1943, pp. 39.)

#### GENERAL ARTICLES

- T. FISH. Food of the Gods in Ancient Sumer. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, June.  
 R. C. BOSANQUET. Dicte and the Temples of Dictaeon Zeus. *An. Brit. School Athens*, XL.  
 SOLOMON ZEITLIN. Judaism as a Religion. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Oct.  
 RICHMOND LATTIMORE. Aeschylus on the Defeat of Xerxes. *Class. Stud. in Honor of W. A. Oldfather*.  
 H. J. HASKELL. The Senate's Summons to Brutus. *Class. Jour.*, Oct.  
 MAX RADIN. The Senate's Summons to Brutus. *Ibid.*  
 J. A. O. LARSEN. *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, II, 508, Part II: Discussion. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.  
 VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA. Livy in the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*. *Ibid.*  
 WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. The Emperor Julian. *Class. Weekly*, Oct. 18.  
 LOIS OLSON. Columella and the Beginnings of Soil Science. *Agricultural Hist.*, Apr.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- PAUL ROMANOFF. Jewish Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Oct.  
 S. BENTON. The Date of the Cretan Shields. *An. Brit. School Athens*, XXXIX.  
 H. THOMAS. The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae. *Ibid.*  
 R. W. HUTCHINSON, EDITH ECCLES, and SYLVIA BENTON. Unpublished Objects from Palaikastro and Praisos, II, *Ibid.*, XL.  
 S. BENTON. Excavations in Ithaca, III; The Cave at Polis, II, *Ibid.*, XXXIX.  
 W. A. HEURTLEY. Excavations in Ithaca, IV, *Ibid.*, XL.  
 SYLVIA BENTON. The Dating of Helmets and Corselets in Early Greece. *Ibid.*, XL.  
 ANTON E. RAUBITSCHKE. Early Attic Votive Monuments. *Ibid.*  
 ARTHUR W. PARSONS. Klepsydra and the Paved Court of the Pytheon. *Hesperia*, July.  
 HENRY S. ROBINSON. The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market-place. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.  
 HOWARD COMFORT. Terra Sigillata from Minturnae. *Ibid.*

#### LITERARY, EPIGRAPHICAL, AND PAPYROLOGICAL SOURCES

- B. D. MERITT. The Early Athenian Tribute Lists. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.  
 J. M. R. CORMACK. Royal Letters from Beroea. *An. Brit. School Athens*, XL.

- L. A. POST. Notes on Dionysus of Halicarnassus. *Class. Weekly*, Oct. 18.  
 PAUL JACOBSTHAL. On Livy XXXVI, 40 (Boian Silver). *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.  
 NORMAN J. DEWITT. Polybius, Livy, and the Alps. *Class. Weekly*, Oct. 18.  
 J. M. R. CORMACK. Unpublished Inscriptions from Beroea. *An. Brit. School Athens*, XXXIX.  
 HERBERT C. YOUTIE. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2182. *Class. Weekly*, Oct. 18.  
 ORSAMUS M. PEARL. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2182. *Ibid.*  
 HERBERT BLOCH. A Dream of Septimius Severus. *Ibid.*

## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

ARATOR: THE CODICES. Edited by *Arthur Patch McKinlay*, University of California at Los Angeles. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 43.] (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1942, pp. 128, 37 plates.) Preparatory to a critical edition of the sixth century Christian poet Arator, whose *De actibus Apostolorum libri II* in hexameter verse was curiously popular in the Middle Ages, this volume describes over a hundred manuscripts. Its details are mostly for the paleographer. The description "includes dating and measurements of both page and script, segregation of the gatherings, and listings of the contents. There is a brief listing of provenience, sources, and bibliography." Of some cultural interest, however, is the chapter on the variety of other authors and matter which medieval copyists frequently combined with Arator in one codex.

JORDANI DE SAXONIA, ORDINIS EREMITARUM S. AUGUSTINI: LIBER VITASFRATRUM. By *Rudolph Arbesmann* and *Winfrid Hümpfner*. [Studies in St. Augustine and the Augustinian Order, Volume I.] (New York, Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service, 1943, pp. xcii, 548, cloth \$8.50, paper \$7.50.) Readers puzzled by this item should first be apprised that this Jordan of Saxony, or Jordan of Quedlinburg, lived in the fourteenth century and was an Augustinian monk. He is therefore not to be confused with his far more famous namesake, the second general of the Dominican Order (1222-37). Having gathered manifold recollections, miracles, and *exempla*, the later Jordanus undertook to describe the life of his monastic brethren in a moral and edificatory treatise on the ascetic life. He took *vitas* as a genitive singular, on the analogy of *paterfamilias*, and so his *Liber vitasfratrum* is equivalent to *Liber vitae fratrum*. The title had already been used in the *Vitasfratrum* of the Dominicans written by Gerardus de Fracheto, for which Jordanus sought to produce an Augustinian counterpart. His description of the fourfold way of the monastic life is reminiscent of Caesarius of Heisterbach, from whom he also borrowed. While the whole is not a historical source in the ordinary sense, owing to its disregard of chronology, the treatise has some value for the early membership and customs of the order. The editors have collated thirteen manuscripts and a fragment of another to produce the first critical text ever published; the printing is excellent; and Dr. Arbesmann has supplied an extensive introduction on the life and activities of Jordanus. Rejecting a date as late as 1256 for the formal establishment of the Order, he probably indicates the historical attitude of both editors when he declares (p. lxxxi): "If it is right to say that St. Benedict founded a religious Order, then St. Augustine founded his Order more than a hundred years before."

A SUPPLEMENT TO BEALE'S BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EARLY ENGLISH LAW BOOKS. Compiled for the Ames Foundation by *Robert Bowie Anderson*, Associate

Librarian of Harvard Law School. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1943, pp. xii, 50.)

THE VOCABULARY OF POPE ST. LEO THE GREAT. By Sister *Mary Magdeleine Mueller*, Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Francis, Wisconsin. [The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. LXVII.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1943, pp. xviii, 269.) "The purpose of the present monograph is to investigate the Late Latin vocabulary of the genuine writings of Pope St. Leo, that is, of the *Sermons* and *Letters*. The plan is twofold: in the first place, to observe the author's own choice of words and the special meaning which he ascribes to them; and secondly, to evaluate his vocabulary in relation to that of his predecessors in the Classical and Christian literary tradition. In general the method followed is that adopted in other vocabulary studies which have appeared in the Catholic University of America Patristic Studies and in the Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature."

#### GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE. The Medieval Conception of the Rights and Duties of Rulers. *London Quar. Rev.*, Apr.

GEORGE BOND. Links between *Beowulf* and Mercian History. *Stud. in Philol.*, Oct.

R. A. L. SMITH. The Place of Gundulf in the Anglo-Norman Church. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.

ALEXANDER BELL. Was "Treson" in the "Chronicle"? *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Apr.

H. A. CRONNE. Edward Augustus Freeman, 1823-1892. *History*, Mar.

F. M. POWICKE. Master Simon the Norman. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.

BERTIE WILKINSON. The Council and the Crisis of 1233-4. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, June.

LOUIS GODEFROY. Simon de Montfort, 1208-1265 [cont.]. *Culture*, Sept.

J. G. EDWARDS. *Confirmatio Cartarum* and Baronial Grievances in 1297: II [concl.]. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.

HELENA M. CHEW. The Office of Escheator in the City of London during the Middle Ages. *Ibid.*

ZENA. The Battle of the Golden Spurs (1302), a National Day. *Belgium*, July.

ALVAREZ RUBIO. El concepto de España según los cronicones de la alta edad media. *Príncipe de Viana* (Pamplona), III, no. 7.

RICHARD NEWALD. Das Erste Auftreten der deutschen Urkunde in der Schweiz. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXII, no. 4.

#### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

ANGELO SEGRÈ. Some Traits of Monetary Inflation in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. *Seminar*, I (1943).

HAROLD MATTINGLY. Coinage of the Dark Age in Britain. *Antiquity*, Sept.

#### LEGAL

FRANCIS J. KIEDA. An Outline of the Historical Evolution of the Penal Law of the Church. *Jurist*, Oct.

EDWARD ROELKER. The Interpretation of Invalidating Laws [III]. *Ibid.*, July.

*Id.* The Effect and Obligation of Invalidating Laws. *Ibid.*, Oct.

GAINES POST. Roman Law and Early Representation in Spain and Italy, 1150-1250. *Speculum*, Apr.

GUIDO KISCH. Nationalism and Race in Medieval Law. *Seminar*, I (1943).

HERMAN KANTOROWICZ and BERYL SMALLEY. An English Theologian's Views of Roman Law: Pepo, Innerius, Ralph Niger. *Med. and Renaiss. Stud.*, I, no. 2 (1943).

GERALD B. PHELAN. Relation between Civil and Moral Law. *Culture*, Sept.

GUIDO KISCH. Magdeburg Jury Court Decisions as Sources of Jewry-Law, a Study in Source History. *Hist. Judaica*, Apr.

MARGERY BASSETT. Newgate Prison in the Middle Ages. *Speculum*, Apr.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

- PATRICK J. HAMELL. The Church in Africa in the Third Century. *Irish Eccles. Record*, Oct.  
 DENIS MEEHAN. St. Gregory Nazianzen and Hellenistic Humanism. *Ibid.*  
 GEORGE B. HATFIELD. The Bible in Medieval Civilization. *Hist. Judaica*, Apr.  
 V. H. H. GREEN. The Donation of Constantine. *Church Quar. Rev.*, CXXXV (1942), 39-63.  
 CHARLES W. JONES. A Legend of St. Pachomius. *Speculum*, Apr.  
 EDWIN ROCHIE HARDY, JR. Servant of the Servants of God [Pope Gregory the Great]. *Church Hist.*, Mar.  
 W. TELFER. The Codex Verona LX(58). *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, July.  
 WILLIAM A. HINNEBUSCH. The Personnel of the Early English Dominican Province. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.  
 WATKIN WILLIAMS. The Statecraft of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. *Dublin Rev.*, Apr.  
 CHARLTON LAIRD. Palatinus Latinus 1970, a Composite Manuscript. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Apr.  
 BERARD VOGT. The *Forma Corporeitatis* of Duns Scotus and Modern Science. *Franciscan Stud.*, Mar.  
 JOHN R. H. MOORMAN. Early Franciscan Art and Literature. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, June.  
 PATRICK ROBERT. St. Bonaventure, Defender of Christian Wisdom. *Franciscan Stud.*, June.  
 W. STANFORD REID. The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland. *Church Hist.*, XI (1942), 269-83.  
 J. B. L. TOLHURST. St. Kyneburga of Gloucester. *Pax*, Summer.  
 JOHN HENNIG. Irish Saints in the Liturgical and Artistic Tradition of Central Europe. *Irish Eccles. Record*, Mar.  
 F. DVORNIK. East and West, the Photian Schism: A Re-statement of Facts. *Month*, July.

JEWISH AND MUSLIM

- ERWIN I. J. ROSENTHAL. Saadya Gaon. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, Dec., 1942.  
 HERMAN HAILPERIN. Jewish "Influence" on Christian Biblical Scholars in the Middle Ages. *Hist. Judaica*, July, 1942.  
 WILLIAM THOMSON. Islam the Religion of Muhammad: Its Diffusion and Genius. *Moslem World*, Apr.  
 MOHD. A. R. KHAN. A Survey of Muslim Contributions to Science and Culture. *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad), Jan. and Apr., 1942.  
 RICHARD BELL. A Moslem Thinker on the Teaching of Religion, Al-Ghazzālī, A.D. 1058-1111. *Hibbert Jour.*, Oct.  
 DUNCAN B. MACDONALD EMRICH. The Avicenna Legend. *Moslem World*, XXXII (1942), 298-323.  
 M. ABDUL QADIR. The Social and Political Ideas of Ibn Khaldun. *Indian Jour. Pol. Sci.* (Allahabad), Oct.-Dec., 1941.  
 ELSE LICHTENSTADTER. The Distinctive Dress of non-Muslims in Islamic Countries. *Hist. Judaica*, Apr.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE SCHOOLS AND LEARNING

- LORENZO MINIO-PALUELLO. The Genuine Text of Boethius' Translation of Aristotle's Categories. *Med. and Renaiss. Stud.*, I, no. 2 (1943).  
 MARCEL FRANÇON. Ausonius's Riddle of the Number Three. *Speculum*, Apr.  
 RAYMOND KLIBANSKY. The Rock of Parmenides: Mediaeval Views of the Origin of Dialectic. *Med. and Renaiss. Stud.*, I, no. 2 (1943).  
*Id.* Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. *Ibid.*  
 JEAN HOLZWORTH. Light from a Medieval Commentary on the Text of the *Fabulae* and *Astronomica* of Hyginus. *Class. Philol.*, Apr.  
 LOTTE LABOWSKY. A New Version of Scotus Eriugena's Commentary on Martianus Capella. *Med. and Renaiss. Stud.*, I, no. 2 (1943).  
 R. W. HUNT. Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries [cont.]. *Ibid.*  
 CLEMENT C. J. WEBB. Ioannis Saresberiensis Metalogicon: Addenda et Corrigenda. *Ibid.*  
 JOHN ELOF BOODIN. The Discovery of Form. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr.  
 NEIL R. KER. The Migration of Manuscripts from the English Medieval Libraries. *Library*, June, 1942.  
 ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ. An "Autobiography" of Guida Faba. *Med. and Renaiss. Stud.*, I, no. 2 (1943).

- BARBARA BARCLAY CARTER. Dante's Political Ideas. *Rev. Pol.*, July.  
 ERNEST H. WILKINS. The Coronation of Petrarch. *Speculum*, Apr.  
 HAROLD S. WILSON. George of Trebizond and Early Humanist Rhetoric. *Stud. in Philol.*, July.  
 C. R. THOMPSON. Some Greek and Grecized Words in Renaissance Latin [More and Erasmus].  
*Am. Jour. Philol.*, July.  
 HERBERT L. STEWART. Rabelais the Humanist. *Personalist*, Autumn.

## LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

- E. NOREEN. Ur Eddaforskningsens Historia. *Nordisk Tidskrift*, no. 5 (1941).  
 ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT. A Note on the U-Declension in Old Norse. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June.  
 LEO SPITZER. Etudes d'anthroponymie ancienne française: I, Olivier; II, Pépin le Bref. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Sept.  
 ELAINE C. SOUTHWARD. Arthur's Dream. *Speculum*, Apr.  
 WILLIAM A. NITZE. What Did Robert de Boron Write? *Mod. Philol.*, Aug.  
 K. LEWENT. Old Provençal Miscellany. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Apr.  
 HELEN ADOLF. A Historical Background for Chrétien's *Perceval*. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Sept.  
 ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE. The Hero Champion of Animals. *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, Sept.  
 ARPAD STEINER. An Unnoticed Evidence of French Argot in the Early Thirteenth Century. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Feb.  
 KENNETH URWIN. The 59th English Ballade of Charles of Orleans. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Apr.  
 CHARLES PINCHBECK. Maurice de Sully. *Romanic Rev.*, Apr.  
 KARL YOUNG. Chaucer's "Vitremyte." *Stud. in Philol.*, Oct.  
 GERMAINE DEMPSTER. Chaucer's Manuscript of Petrarch's Version of the Griselda Story. *Mod. Philol.*, Aug.

## ART AND ARCHITECTURE

- JOHN J. GAVIGAN. Precious Stones and Mediaeval Symbolism. *Class. Weekly*, Nov. 1.  
 ALEXANDER SOPER III. The Brescia Casket, a Problem in Late Antique Perspective. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.  
 CARL K. HERSEY. The Church of Saint-Martin at Tours (903-1150). *Art Bull.*, Mar.  
 WALTER HORN. Romanesque Churches in Florence: A Study of Their Chronology and Stylistic Development. *Ibid.*, June.  
 FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR. Giotto's St. Francis Series at Assisi Historically Considered. *Ibid.*  
 ILSE FRANK and JENŐ LÁNYI. The Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors. *Ibid.*  
 GEORGE R. KERNODLE. Renaissance Artists in the Service of the People: Political Tableaux and Street Theaters in France, Flanders, and England. *Ibid.*, Mar.  
 DORA PANOFKY. The Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter Illustrations. *Ibid.*  
 JOHN R. H. MOORMAN. Early Franciscan Art and Literature. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, June.

## Modern European History

## BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

- THE PLACE-NAMES OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND THE ISLE OF ELY. By P. H. Reaney, Late Leverhulme Research Fellow. [English Place-Name Society, Volume XIX.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. lxi, 396, \$6.75.)  
 AGRARNOE ZAKONODATEL'STVO ANGLIISKOI REVOLIUTSII 1649-1660 GODOV. By S. I. Arkhangel'skii. (Moscow-Leningrad, Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1940, pp. 275.) The agrarian legislation of the English revolution from 1649 to 1660.



ENGLAND: A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ITS LIFE AND CULTURE. By *Walter S. Hinchman*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1941, pp. ix, 410, \$3.50.) That Mr. Hinchman loves England there can be no possible probable shadow of doubt, and his pupils at Milton Academy must find it difficult to avoid his enthusiasm for the glories of England's past and his sympathy for her present hour of trial. For all that, this book is not a comfortable one to review. What was Mr. Hinchman trying to do? What does he intend us to understand by "culture" in general and by "English culture" in particular? Is "culture" the same thing as "civilization"? Is it child labor, "Gin Lane," and the "Mohawks" as well as Chaucer, Milton, and the Winchester cathedral? One must presume so in want of a definition. The first part of the book—as far as "From Despotism to Liberty" (chap. xi)—proceeds at a comfortable pace through the familiar historical landscape, brightened here and there with flowers from the garland of early English poetry, and with its worn signposts still pointing sturdily in the expected directions, save one, perhaps, which points vaguely down a faintly perceptible path and is labeled "Genuine Anglican." Where it leads is Mr. Hinchman's secret. However, after the establishment of "Liberty" (chaps. xi *et seq.*) the reader is swirled away in a cosmic cyclone, or—perhaps—is translated into some Super Bazaar, its showcases on relentlessly moving conveyor-belts. The creations of nine generations of Englishmen speed by the hypnotized reader in a sweet disorder, reminiscent of the display of cakes in Buol's window in the "High." There is no lack of variety: montages of foreign affairs and constitutional struggles; critical essays on Carlyle and Macaulay; thumbnail sketches of eminent and forgotten Englishmen; directories of writers, artists, engineers, musicians, scientists, dramatists, with catalogues of their wares—and esoteric reminders of men whom you should know—*e.g.*, Mr. Hinchman hints that there was a man called Malthus who "was too hypothetical" (p. 282) *et praeterea nihil*. There is much in this book to interest anyone. The style, if you don't object to having your sentences begin with "But" (isn't it Gibbon who ends all of his sentences with a genitive?), is pleasant and light. This reviewer, however, feels that Mr. Hinchman would have done better to have tethered himself in the field of English literature and to have given us his reactions to England in a series of literary essays.

SYDNEY M. BROWN

BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH PEOPLE. By *Ernest Barker*. [The World To-day.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1943, pp. 141, \$1.25.) Dr. Ernest Barker's *Britain and the British People* is one of the most successful of the series of Oxford pamphlets entitled "The World To-day." It is a delightful little book, distinguished for its style and objectivity. Dr. Barker writes for an intelligent but uninformed reader, presumably an American. The 130 pages of text are closely packed with information about Britain's institutions and societies, her government and system of law, her churches, "matters of the mind," and those social services which constitute her "great social adventure." The author finds a double motif in the British way of life: a sense of the continuity of English history and what he calls the "idea of balance," the spirit of compromise which "to an Englishman is the essence of democracy." Something of this balance and judicious spirit seems to me to characterize his writing. It is evident in his careful modification of statement, his weighing of advantage against disadvantage, his readiness to acknowledge economic inequalities, "the dark Satanic mills" which still mar "the green and pleasant land." Exceptions may be made to the scope of the book, the emphasis or interpretation. Some might prefer a more extensive treatment of the trade unions and see less significance in the history of Nonconformity or the law of trust. Many of us, however, will agree that "the religious key is the key which unlocks most doors of English life" and that "the English common law with all its defects—is still

about the best thing we have." In this brief account of Britain today Dr. Barker makes a welcome contribution to the cause of Anglo-American understanding.

NORMA ADAMS

PARLAMENTSKIE OGORAZHIVANIJA OBSHCINNYKH ZEMEL' V ANGLII KONTSA 18 -NACHALA 19 VEKOV. By *B. M. Lavrovskii*. (Moscow-Leningrad, Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1940, pp. 200.) The parliamentary enclosure of common lands in England at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

THE NEGRO IN ENGLISH ROMANTIC THOUGHT, OR A STUDY OF SYMPATHY FOR THE OPPRESSED. By *Eva Beatrice Dykes*. (Washington, Associated Publishers, 1942, pp. 197, \$2.00.) This work is a twofold contribution. In discovering in English romanticism sympathy for the oppressed and in accounting for such an attitude the author has served both the historian and the literary critic. The historian will find help not only in the pages devoted to the background of these efforts for the oppressed but in the development of the story by cause and effect. The treatise does not leave the reader wondering why men thought that way and how things happened thus long ago. The thoroughness with which Dr. Dykes developed her thesis is evident in the large number of writers considered, including some not considered as romanticists. She was looking for this special expression of sympathy wherever it happened to be. Here, then, we find Pope and Johnson along with Wordsworth, Shelley, and Byron. The literature appeared in a variety of forms—poems ranging from the short sonnet and poems of two stanzas to the longer poem, heroic couplets, Miltonic octosyllabic couplets, in elegiac quatrains and varied stanzaic forms. Burns, Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Hunt, Harriet Martineau, Maria Edgeworth, and Landor devoted complete poems, tales, or essays to abolition and emancipation, while others like Shelley and Byron dealt with these questions incidentally. The story reaches a climax when there followed the all but perfect freedom of thought and action which resulted in the abolition of the trade in 1807 and the emancipation in the British Empire in 1833. The author could have incorporated into other parts of the book the facts in the chapter on "Some Women Abolitionists." She was too anxious to show what women had done for humanity. Likewise it was unnecessary to separate the treatment of the standard writers from that of those of smaller stature, inasmuch as the purpose of the dissertation is to show the influence of advanced thought on the antislavery movement rather than to give a literary criticism of these productions. The author does bring out the fact that not all of those who pleaded the cause of abolition and emancipation believed in accepting Negroes as social equals. Too many Negroes in London necessitated colonization in Sierra Leone. Yet, on the whole, the Negroes in England were treated humanely.

C. G. WOODSON

STUDIES IN THE EVOLUTION OF DOMINION STATUS: THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF CANADA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN NATIONALISM. By *Gwen Neuendorff*. With a Foreword by Harold J. Laski. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1942, pp. vi, 379, \$5.00.) This, as the title suggests, is not an integrated book. It consists of two principal studies: the first and most important covers about two thirds of the text and deals with the history and functions of the governor general in Canada; the second is an essay on Canadian nationalism, with reference particularly to imperial federation, imperial preference, and imperial defense. Written by a South African who had studied in the University of London under the direction of Professor Harold Laski, the book represents very considerable research, both in printed and documentary sources, and unearths some fresh information, especially on the

history of the governor generalship, up to the mid-eighties (apt use is made of the Colonial Office papers for this period). The work, however, is marred by a very confusing organization of material, involving much needless repetition, and by a carelessness in detail. Miss Neuendorff was evidently somewhat swamped by her information, and it would have been wisdom on her part to have deliberated longer before publishing the manuscript. The defects of the book are all the more unfortunate in that there is genuine need of a monograph on the governor generalship. Some of the obvious errors in the book are illustrated in comparing its account of the famous "Byng incident" of 1926 with that in the recently published and able monograph by Dr. Eugene Forsey, *The Royal Power of Dissolution of Parliament in the British Commonwealth*. Despite its defects Miss Neuendorff's book is not to be neglected by students of Canadian history, provided that they exercise care in accepting the facts. The concluding chapters on Canadian nationalism contain much useful information on public opinion culled from parliamentary debates and periodicals and not available in previous histories of the subject.

ALEXANDER BRADY

THE MAKING OF MODERN NEW GUINEA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CULTURE CONTACT IN THE MANDATED TERRITORY. By *Stephen Winsor Reed*, Instructor in Sociology and Fellow of Calhoun College, Yale University. Issued in co-operation with the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XVIII.] (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1943, pp. xix, 326, \$4.00.) That there are no longer any remote areas is a truism. Until a couple of years ago New Guinea was one of the least known places in the world; since Pearl Harbor it has been in the newspaper headlines almost daily. A backward and unfrequented area suddenly became the scene of bitter, protracted warfare, fought between thousands of men transported thither from distant places and making use of the most recent developments in science. This unusual alien penetration is certain to affect deeply the native society. It is, therefore, fortunate that we have this study of the social structure, or, as the author chooses to describe it, "an ad interim report on the more recent results of European aims and native achievements as seen in the light of the whole history of contact and acculturation" in the mandated territory of New Guinea. This is primarily a sociological study. It traces the development of a new society as the result of the contacts between a small number of organized Europeans and a large number of politically and socially unorganized native groups. Nevertheless, the book contains much of interest for the student of the history of imperialism. An introductory chapter describing the land and the people is followed by several chapters on the development of European control and German administration. Dr. Reed has written an objective if not exhaustive account of an interesting episode in the history of German imperialism. Students of colonial administration will also find much of interest and value in this study. Problems of administrative penetration, justice, health, education, land policy, taxation, and indirect rule in the mandated territory are analyzed. Dr. Reed has high praise for the Australian administration, which, he declares, "stands out as a powerful force for the greatest good of the whole population, native and white included." This study should be of much service in appraising the value of a system of international trusteeship for backward areas. The book contains an excellent and extensive bibliography.

AMRY VANDENBOSCH

#### ARTICLES

THOMAS ARTEMUS JONES. Owen Tudor's Marriage. *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, Feb.

ERIC HARRISON. Henry the Eighth's Gangster: The Affair of Ludovico de L'Armi. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec.

- WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR. The Ellesmere Extracts from the "Acta Consilii" of King Henry VIII. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.
- Id.* Henry VIII's Whole Council and Its Parts. *Huntington Library Quar.*, Nov.
- JOHN LEON LIEVSAY. Newgate Penitents: Further Aspects of Elizabethan Pamphlet Sensationalism. *Ibid.*
- ERIC HARRISON. Mary I, Queen of England. *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, July.
- F. W. BROOKS. The Vicissitudes of a Lincolnshire Manor during the Civil War and the Commonwealth. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July.
- MICHAEL LEWIS. Armada Guns: A Comparative Study of English and Spanish Armaments. VII, The Lessons of the Armada Fight. *Mariner's Mirror*, July.
- WILLIAM A. HINNEBUSCH. The Personnel of the Early English Dominican Province. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.
- JOHN WOLFE LYDEKKER. Thomas Bray (1658-1730): Founder of Missionary Enterprise. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, Sept.
- I. NAAMANI TARKOW. The Significance of the Act of Settlement in the Evolution of English Democracy. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Dec.
- CECIL ROTH. The Court Jews of Edwardian England. *Jewish Social Stud.*, Oct.
- RICHARD H. BRENNAN. A Last Bid for Irish Freedom, 1829-1843. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.
- G. A. BALLARD. The Great Brig: H.M.S. Temeraire, 1875. *Mariner's Mirror*, July.
- FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI. Some Notes on Lord Acton Suggested by a Recent Book. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.
- JAMES A. S. WATSON. Land Ownership, Farm Tenancy, and Farm Labor in Britain. *Agricultural Hist.*, Apr.
- L. DUDLEY STAMP. Land Utilization in Britain, 1937-1943. *Geograph. Rev.*, Oct.
- DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE. The Beveridge Plan. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Autumn.
- W. B. WILLCOX. Forces of Change in the English-speaking World. *Yale Rev.*, Autumn.
- QUINTIN HOGG. British Policy: A Conservative Forecast. *For. Affairs*, Oct.
- GEORGE F. BLACK. The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History [cont.]. *Bull. New York Public Library*, Oct.
- W. W. PRICE. The Legend of Anthony Bacon. *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, Feb.
- C. WINTON-CLARE. A Shipbuilder's War. *Mariner's Mirror*, July.
- J. W. DAFOE. Canada and the Peace Conference of 1919. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- O. C. FURNISS. Some Notes on Newly-Discovered Fur Posts on the Saskatchewan River. *Ibid.*
- D. C. HARVEY. Douglas Brymner, 1823-1902. *Ibid.*
- PERCY J. ROBINSON. Yonge Street and the North West Company. *Ibid.*
- J. E. A. MACLEOD. Piegan Post and the Blackfoot Trade. *Ibid.*
- C. A. DAWSON. Canada in Perspective. *Can. Jour. Ec. Pol. Sci.*, Aug.
- MADGE WOLFENDEN. The Early Government Gazettes. *Brit. Col. Hist. Quar.*, July.
- GILBERT NORMAN TUCKER. Canada's First Submarines: CC1 and CC2. An Episode of the Naval War in the Pacific, 1914-18. *Ibid.*
- A. LACEY. Canada's Tenth Province? [Newfoundland]. *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, July.
- JUDITH ROBINSON. Canada's Split Personality. *For. Affairs*, Oct.
- F. H. UNDERHILL. The Canadian Party System in Transition. *Can. Jour. Ec. Pol. Sci.*, Aug.
- PAUL LEBEL. La Pipe-Line de Portland à Montréal. *Rev. Trimest. Can.*, Sept.
- A. D. HARDY. John Hardy: An Early Victorian Surveyor. *Victorian Hist. Mag.*, June.
- CHARLES H. BEHR, JR. India's Mineral Wealth and Political Future. *For. Affairs*, Oct.
- HENRY M. MOOLMAN. Jan Christiaan Smuts and the Union of South Africa. *Am. Scholar*, Autumn.
- HERBERT HEATON. The Progress of Historical Studies in Australia. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec.
- FRANK H. UNDERHILL. The British Commonwealth and the Price of Peace. *Frontiers of Democracy*, Oct. 15.

## DOCUMENTS

- The Diary of Robert Melrose: Part II, 1853-54. *Brit. Col. Hist. Quar.*, July.

FRANCE

RAZVITIE FRANTSUZSKOI POLITICHESKOI TERMINOLOGII V 18. VEKE. By R. A. Budagov. (Leningrad, Leningradskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1940, pp. 121.) The development of French political terminology during the eighteenth century.

SOTSIAL'NYE I POLITICHESKIE IDEI VO FRANTSII PERED REVOLIUTSIEI (1748-1789). By V. P. Volgin. (Moscow, Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1940, pp. 191.) Social and political thought in France before the Revolution (1748-89).

GENEZIS OBSHCHESTVENNOGO IDEALA FOURIER. By A. R. Ioannisian. (*Ibid.*, 1939, pp. 223.) The origin of the social ideals of Fourier.

ISTORIIA PARIZHSKOI KOMMUNY 1871 G. By P. M. Kerzhentsev. (Moscow, Sotsekgiz., 1940, pp. 552.) History of the Paris Commune of 1871.

ARTICLES

W. C. SCOVILLE. Labor and Labor Conditions in the French Glass Industry, 1643-1789. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec.

ELLIOT H. POLINGER. Saint-Simon, Utopian Precursor of the League of Nations. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Oct.

HENRI SINDER. Lights and Shades of Jewish Life in France, 1940-42. *Jewish Social Stud.*, Oct.

DOCUMENTS

GORDON WRIGHT. The Distribution of French Parties in 1865: An Official Survey. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec.

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

ARTICLES

EDVARD HAMBRO. The Northern European Countries after This War. *Am. Am. Acad.*, July.

*Id.* Small States and a New League, from the Viewpoint of Norway. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Oct.

WILHELM MORGENSTIERNE. Norway: Three Years of Achievement. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, Sept.

HENRIK PALMSTRÖM. Labour Conditions in Occupied Norway. *Internat. Labour Rev.*, Nov.

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

ARTICLES

RICHARD SCHOENBOHM. Music in the Lutheran Church before and at the Time of J. S. Bach. *Church Hist.*, Sept.

WERNER J. CAHNMANN. A Regional Approach to German Jewish History. *Jewish Social Stud.*, July.

THOMAS I. COOK and ARNAUD B. LEAVELLE. German Idealism and American Theories of the Democratic Community. *Jour. Pol.*, Aug.

SOL LIPTZIN. Heinrich Heine, Hellenist and Cultural Pessimist. *Philol. Quar.*, July.

H. G. FIEDLER. The Friendship of Thomas Carlyle and Varnhagen von Ense. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Jan.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE. Friedrich List, Forerunner of Pan-Germanism. *Am. Scholar*, Autumn.

HERMANN J. WEIGAND. Auf den Spuren von Hauptmanns Florian Geyer, II. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Sept.

ERNST ROSE. Paul Ernst und China. *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, Sept.

General Sir W. THWAITES. German Memories. *Army Quar.*, Oct.

- ADRIEN ROBINET DE CLERY. Das Problem der deutschen Reparationen 1919-1932; ein Beitrag zur Frage der finanziellen Liquidation des ersten Weltkrieges. *Friedenswarte*, no. 1 (1943).
- HANS ERNEST FRIED. German Militarism: Substitute for Revolution. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Dec.
- SYDNEY L. W. MELLEN. The German People and the Postwar World. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Aug.
- CHARLES KRUSZEWSKI. German-Polish Tariff War (1925-1934) and Its Aftermath. *Jour. Central Europ. Affairs*, Oct.
- COUNT NICOLAS SOLLOHUB. Political Myths and the Conversion of the Germans. *Dublin Rev.*, July.
- HOWARD BECKER. Monuments: German Personality Types Foreshadowing the Collapse of the Weimar Republic. *Am. Sociol. Rev.*, Oct.
- FRITZ KAUFMANN. The World as Will and Representation: Thomas Mann's Philosophical Novels. *Philosophy and Phenomen. Research*, Sept.
- ARTHUR SCHWEITZER. The Role of Foreign Trade in the Nazi Economy. *Jour. Pol. Ec.*, Aug.
- SIEGFRIED KRACAUER. The Conquest of Europe on the Screen—the Nazi Newsreel, 1939-40. *Soc. Research*, Sept.
- JOACHIM JOESTEN. German Rule in Ostland. *For. Affairs*, Oct.
- HANS SPEIER. Nazi Propaganda and Its Decline. *Soc. Research*, Sept.
- GORDON SKILLING. Will November 1918 Repeat Itself? *Publ. Opinion Quar.*, Summer.
- ELIZABETH HORSCH BENDER. The Portrayal of the Swiss Anabaptists in Gottfried Keller's *Ursula*. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, July.
- ERNST STAEHELIN. Die Reise des griechischen Theologen Metrophanes Kritopulos durch die Schweiz im Jahre 1627. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXII, no. 4.
- EDOUARD CHAPUISAT. Le Général Dufour et le "Mur de César." *Bull. Soc. hist. et archéol. Genève*, 1942.
- JEANNE NIQUILLE. La dissidence fribourgeoise de 1798 et le canton de Sarine-et Broye. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXII, no. 4.
- WILLIAM E. RAPPARD. Antoine-Elisée Cherbuliez et la Révolution genevoise de 1841. *Bull. Soc. hist. et archéol. Genève*, 1942.
- GEORG HOFFMANN. Die grossbritannische Schweizer-Legion im Krimkrieg, Werbung und Schicksal. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXII, no. 4.
- MALCOLM MOOS. Swiss Neutrality. *Yale Rev.*, Autumn.
- P. N. ROSENSTEIN-RODAN. Problems of Industrialisation of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. *Ec. Jour.*, June-Sept.
- Labor Conditions in Hungary. *Monthly Labor Rev.*, June.
- ILLYRICUS. Ett Folk Som ej Vill Dö; den Slovenska Nationaliteten Håller på att utplånas. *Svensk Tidskrift*, XXX, no. 4.

## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*

- VOZDUSHNYE SILY V ITALO-ABISSINSKOI VOINE. By E. *Tatarchenko*. (Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe voennoe izdatel'stvo, 1940, pp. 196.) Air power in the Italo-Abyssinian War.

## ARTICLES

- MARIO MARIANI. Povera razza latina! *Mondo*, Sept.
- LOIS OLSON and HELEN L. EDDY. Leonardo da Vinci: The First Soil Conservation Geologist. *Agricultural Hist.*, July.
- G. A. BORGESE. House of Savoy. *Life*, Aug. 23.
- LUIGI STURZO. Lay Saints in Modern Italy. *Cath. World*, Sept.
- A. PARRY. How Russia Invaded Italy in 1799. *Travel*, Aug.
- JOSEPH T. DURKIN. A Rich Source Collection for Catholic Scholars of the Risorgimento: The Henry Nelson Gay Materials of Harvard University. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.
- Le prime prove politiche di Giuseppe Mazzini. *Italia Libera*, Sept. 1.
- La critica di Mazzini ai primi moti rivoluzionari. *Ibid.*, Sept. 16.
- Il giuramento della "Giovine Italia." *Ibid.*, Nov. 16.
- RENÉ ALBRECHT CARRIÉ. Italian Colonial Problems in 1919. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Dec.



- ALBERTO CUPELLI. A Panorama of Our Italian Language Press. *Mondo*, Sept.  
 Legacy of the Concordat. *Christian Cent.*, Sept. 29.  
 J. T. WHITAKER. Why Italy Longs for Peace. *Sci. Digest*, June.  
 KINGSBURY SMITH. Our Government's Plan for a Defeated Italy. *Am. Mercury*, Aug.  
 CARLO SFORZA. Italy and Her Neighbors. *For. Affairs*, Oct.  
 J. MURPHY. Italian Realities. *Nineteenth Century*, Sept.  
 The Editor. Italy and Europe. *Ibid.*, Oct.  
 G. GLASGOW. Italy and the Settlement. *Contemp. Rev.*, Oct.  
 LUIGI STURZO. The Church and Democracy and Salvemini-La Piana. *Voce del Popolo*, Nov. 12.  
 Cronistoria dell' occupazione della Sicilia (dal 1 al 17 agosto). *Mondo*, Sept.  
 C. G. PAULDING. Mussolini. *Commonweal*, Aug. 6.  
 B. STRABOLGI. Enter the People. *Ibid.*, Aug. 13.  
 G. DE SANTILLANA. Who Shall Lead Italy? *New Repub.*, Aug. 23.  
 L. GRABER. Italy and the Pessimists. *Nation*, Aug. 21.  
 N. CHIAROMONTE. From Italian Prisons: Power of the Anti-Fascists. *New Repub.*, Aug. 30.  
 A. CRESPI. Downfall of Fascism. *Contemp. Rev.*, Sept.  
 LIONELLO VENTURI. Italy after Fascism. *Current Hist.*, Sept.  
 AURELIO NATOLI. Cent'anni perduti: Documenti per la storia di domani. *Mondo*, Sept.  
 LAMBERTO BORGHI. Il terzo fronte del popolo. *Controcorrente*, Sept.  
 M. MAESTRO. Who Are the Guilty? *Nation*, Sept. 11.  
 ARTURO TOSCANINI. To the People of America. *Life*, Sept. 13.  
 LUIGI STURZO. Ai siciliani. *Nazioni Unite*, Sept. 15.  
*Id.* I guaranta di Palermo. *Italia Libera*, Sept. 16.  
 G. SALVEMINI. L'antifascismo monarchico e conservatore si è suicidato (Alberto Bergamini, Benedetto Croce, Luigi Einaudi). *Ibid.*  
 LUIGI STURZO. Badoglio, the Allies, and Hitler (as of September 18, 1943). *Mondo*, Sept.  
 A. GATTI. It Can't Happen Anywhere but Here. *Sat. Eve. Post*, Sept. 18.  
 C. G. PAULDING. After Surrender. *Commonweal*, Sept. 24.  
 DEMAREE BESS. How We're Running Sicily. *Sat. Eve. Post*, Sept. 25.  
 AURELIO NATOLI. Dalla resa a discrezione alla cobelligeranza; la ricostruzione "costituzionale" (Documenti per la storia di domani). *Mondo*, Oct.  
 The Italian Problem and the British Parliament. *Ibid.*  
 C. G. HAINES. What Future for Italy? *For. Policy Reports*, Oct. 1.  
 Napoli delle tre giornate. *Nazioni Unite*, Oct. 15.  
 RANDOLFO PACCIARDI. Traitors Cannot Lead. *Nation*, Oct. 23.  
 DEMAREE BESS. Power Politics Succeeded in Italy. *Sat. Eve. Post*, Oct. 30.  
 La funzione del partito repubblicano [italiano]. *Voce Repubblicana* (New York), Nov. 6.  
 G. SALVEMINI. What Price Badoglio and the King? *New Repub.*, Nov. 8.  
*Id.* Program for Italy. *Ibid.*, Nov. 15.  
 PARTENOPEAEUS. Badoglio and Beyond: One Aim, Two Methods. *Nazioni Unite*, Nov. 15.  
 RANDOLFO PACCIARDI. The Latest Discovery: The Regency. *Italia Libera*, Nov. 16.  
 GAETANO SALVEMINI. Badoglio as a Regent? *Ibid.*  
 Why not an Italian Republic. *New Repub.*, Nov. 22.  
 DORO LEVI. Sardinia: Isle of Antitheses. *Geograph. Rev.*, Oct.

## RUSSIA AND POLAND

*Avrahm Yarmolinsky*

- IVAN GROZNYĬ [Ivan the Terrible]. By *S. Bakhrushinsky*. (Moscow, Ogiz, 1942, pp. 76, 0.75 rubles.) This is an attempt to evaluate the personality and historical role of Tsar Ivan IV "in the light of marxist methodology."
- RUKOVODSTVO PO PUBLIKATZII DOKUMENTOV XIX VEKA I NACHALA XX VEKA. By *A. A. Shilov*. (Moscow, 1939, pp. 192.) A guide to the publication of documents of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.



DENEZHNYE KRIZISY (1821-1938). By I. Trakhtenberg. (Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe finansovoe izdatel'stvo, 1939, pp. 894.) Monetary crises (1821-1938).

OSNOVANIE KOMMUNISTICHESKOGO INTERNATSIONALA. By I. S. Iuzhefovich. (Moscow-Leningrad, Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1940, pp. 276.) The foundation of the Communist International.

## ARTICLES

- J. BRUTZKUS. Khazary i Kievskaya Rus' [the Khazars and Kievan Russia]. *Novoselye*, no. 6.  
 D. LIKHACHEV. Kul'tura Kievskoi Rusi pri Yaroslave Mudrom [the culture of Kievan Russia under Yaroslav the Wise]. *Istoricheski zhurnal*, no. 7.  
*Id.* Voennoe iskusstvo drevnei Rusi [military art in ancient Russia]. *Zvezda*, no. 1 (1943).  
 S. BAKHRUSHIN. Ivan Groznyĭ [Ivan the Terrible]. *Bol'shevik*, no. 13.  
 A. YAKOVLEV. Kholopstvo i kholopy v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVII veka [slavery and slaves in seventeenth century Muscovy]. *Istoricheski zhurnal*, no. 13.  
 M. MARTYNOV. Pugachevskii ataman Ivan Beloborodov na Urale [Ivan Beloborodov, an aide of Pugachev, in the Urals]. *Ibid.*, nos. 5-6.  
 ELENA VARNECK. Siberian Native Peoples after the February Revolution. *Slavonic Rev.*, Mar.  
 LELAND STOWE. The Evolution of the Red Army. *For. Affairs*, Oct.  
 ALEXEI TOLSTOI. Trends in Soviet Literature. *Sci. and Soc.*, Summer.  
 B. D. GREKHOV and E. V. TARLE. Soviet Historical Research. *Ibid.*  
 VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. *Asia*, Sept.  
 OSCAR HALECKI. The Place of Copernicus in Polish History. *Bull. Polish Inst. Arts and Sci. in Am.*, July.  
 EDMUND ZAWACK. Copernicus: The Man and His Times. *Ibid.*  
 OTTO STRUVE. The Work of Copernicus and the Structure of the Universe. *Ibid.*  
 ALEXANDRE KOYRÉ. Nicolas Copernicus. *Ibid.*  
 LOUIS C. KARPINSKI. Copernicus, First Citizen of a New World Order. *Ibid.*  
 RAFAL TAUBENSCHLAG. The University of Cracow in the Times of Copernicus. *Ibid.*  
 WACLAW LEDNICKI. Polish Literature in 1543. *Ibid.*  
 EDWARD ROSEN. The Authentic Title of Copernicus's Major Work. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Oct.  
 A. VIBERT DOUGLAS. Copernicus, 1473-1543. *Queen's Quar.*, Summer.

## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

BOEVYE DEISTVIA IAPONSKOI ARMII V MANCHZHURII I SHANKHAE 1931-1933 GODOV. By N. S. Bushmanov. (Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe voennoe izdatel'stvo, 1940, pp. 143.) The military activity of the Japanese army in Manchuria and Shanghai from 1931 to 1933.

JAPAN: A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW. By Guy-Harold Smith and Dorothy Good, with the collaboration of Shannon McCune. (New York, American Geographical Society, 1943, pp. viii, 104, \$1.50.)

## ARTICLES

- E. L. ALLEN. Japan and China: A Contrast in Civilization. *Empire Rev.*, Jan., 1943.  
 HANSON W. BALDWIN. America at War: Summer, 1943. *For. Affairs*, Oct.  
 FABIAN CHOW. The Far Eastern Front: Victory Marks Sixth Year of Resistance. *China at War*, July.  
 HERBERT V. EVATT. Problems of the Pacific. *Free World*, June.  
 C. HARTLEY GRATTAN. The Role of Australia in Pacific Politics. *Antioch Rev.*, Mar.  
 YING-CHIN HO. The Year on the Military Front. *China at War*, Aug.

- CHARLES CHENEY HYDE. Japanese Executions of American Aviators. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, July.
- DAVID and SHIRLEY JENKINS. New Zealand's Role in the Pacific. *For. Policy Reports*, June 1.
- ALEXANDER KIRALFY. Exploratory Strategy in the Pacific. *Far Eastern Survey*, Aug. 11.
- Id.* Why Japan's Fleet Avoids Action. *For. Affairs*, Oct.
- SELDEN C. MENESEE. Japan's Psychological War. *Social Forces*, May.
- ALBERT VITON. American Empire in Asia. *Asia*, Sept.
- GEORGE A. WARP. Administration of Island Areas in the South Pacific. *Public Administration Rev.*, Spring.
- HOWARD P. WHIDDEN. New Horizons in International Air Transport. *For. Policy Reports*, July 1.
- H. G. W. WOODHEAD. Our War with Japan. *Contemp. Rev.*, Apr.
- HANSON BALDWIN. Too Much Wishful Thinking about China. *Reader's Digest*, Aug.
- J. LOSSING BUCK and KWOH-HWA HU. The Economic Position of the Szechwan Farmer in 1941-1942. *Ec. Facts*, Jan., 1943.
- Id.* The Behavior of Prices, July, 1937-November, 1942. *Ibid.*
- H. CHATLEY. The Development of Mechanisms in Ancient China. *Engineering*, Feb. 27, 1942.
- China. Educational Progress in Wartime. *China at War*, June.
- China's Postwar Plans. *Fortune*, Oct.
- China's Struggle for Democracy. *Amerasia*, Oct. 1.
- FU-SUNG CHU. Wartime Social Changes in China. *China at War*, July.
- TENNEY L. DAVIS and YÜN-TS'UNG CHAO. Chao Hsüeh-nin's Outline of Pyrotechnics: A Contribution to the History of Fireworks. *Proc. Am. Acad. Arts and Sci.*, May.
- ESSON M. GALE. President James Burrill Angell's Diary as U. S. Treaty Commissioner and Minister to China, 1880-1881. *Michigan Alum. Quar. Rev.*, May 1.
- ELIZABETH GREEN and CRAIGHILL HANDY. Two Great Ambassadors of the New Order: Anson Burlingame and Mei-ling Chiang. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Oct.
- O. M. GREEN. Exeunt the Unequal Treaties. *Fortnightly*, Jan., 1943.
- J. S. GURLEY. Troubled Unity in China. *Current Hist.*, Oct.
- YAO-TSU HO. Chinese Economic Policy in Wartime. *Internat. Labour Rev.*, May.
- C. L. HSIA. China after Six Years of War. *China at War*, July.
- W. M. KIRKPATRICK. Our Understanding of China: Past and Present. *Jour. Royal Central Asian Soc.*, XXIX, 35-42.
- ZING-YANG KUO. Some Lessons China Has Learned from the War. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 103-10.
- C. Y. W. MENG. Whither North-west China? *Fortnightly*, Apr.
- FRANZ MICHAEL. Is China a Democracy? *Far Eastern Survey*, Aug. 11.
- KATE L. MITCHELL and PHILIP J. JAFFE. The China Controversy. *Amerasia*, Sept.
- SAM SCHREINER, JR. China's First Public Opinion Poll. *Public Opinion Quar.*, Spring.
- T. V. SOONG. China's Achievements and Aims. *Contemp. China*, Sept. 6.
- GUENTHER STEIN. China's Fiscal Program. *Far Eastern Survey*, Aug. 25.
- Id.* Free China's Industrial Production. *Ibid.*, Aug. 11.
- Id.* Free China's Agricultural Progress. *Pacific Affairs*, Sept.
- SSU-YÜ TENG. Chinese Influence on the Western Examination System. *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.*, Sept.
- YANG-FU TSENG. Transportation and Communications in Wartime China. *China at War*, Aug.
- H. J. SCRYMGEOUR WEDDERBROM. The Parliamentary Mission to China. *Jour. Royal Central Asian Soc.*, XXX, 191-97.
- WEN-HAO WONG. China's Economic Reform: Past and Present. *China at War*, June.
- QUINCY WRIGHT. The End of Extraterritoriality in China. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, Apr.
- CHIANG-CHAO WU. Reflections on Industrialization in Postwar China. *Contemp. China*, Sept. 6.
- SHAN-YU YAO. The Geographical Distribution of Floods and Droughts in Chinese History, 206 B.C.-A.D. 1911. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Aug.
- RAYMOND BEAZLEY. Russia and the Far East. *Contemp. Rev.*, Feb.
- VIOLET CONOLLY. Soviet Asia Today. *Asiatic Rev.*, Jan., 1943.
- H. DESMOND MARTIN. The Mongol Army. *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.* (1943), pp. 46-85.
- FRITZ STERNBERG. Russia, Major Power in Asia. *Asia*, Sept.
- T. A. BISSON. Japan's New "Industrial Conversion" Program. *Far Eastern Survey*, Sept. 8.

- Id.* Problems of War Production Control in Japan. *Pacific Affairs*, Sept.
- HUGH BYAS. The Japanese Problem. *Yale Rev.*, Spring.
- ROBERT CLIVE. Japan's Planned Aggression. *Jour. Royal Central Asian Soc.*, XXIX, 95-102.
- JAMES K. EYRE, JR. Sea Power and the Growth of Japanese Imperialism. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, July.
- A. J. GRAJDANZEV. Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere. *Pacific Affairs*, Sept.
- PETER HUME. The Japanese Policy in the Occupied Territories. *Asiatic Rev.*, Jan., 1943.
- WARREN SEABURY HUNSBERGER. The O'Ryan Mission to Japan. *Pacific Affairs*, Sept.
- OSWALD WHITE. Japanese Administration of Korea and Manchuria. *Jour. Royal Central Asian Soc.*, XXX, 19-36.
- SAUL K. PADOVER. Japanese Race Propaganda. *Public Opinion Quar.*, Summer.
- LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER. What Future for Japan. *For. Policy Reports*, Sept. 1.
- ALBERT H. SCHREINER. German-Japanese Relations, Past and Present. *Amerasia*, Oct. 25.
- H. G. QUARITCH WALES. Buddhism as a Japanese Propaganda Instrument. *Free World*, May.
- JOSEPH M. BERNSTEIN. The Future of the Philippines and the Netherlands East Indies. *Amerasia*, Oct. 25.
- J. O. M. BROEK. Indonesia and the Netherlands. *Pacific Affairs*, Sept.
- J. S. FURNIVALL. The Political Economy of the Tropical Far East. *Jour. Royal Central Asian Soc.*, XXIX, 195-210.
- LENNOX A. MILLS. The Future of Western Dependencies in South Eastern Asia and the Pacific. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Oct.
- CATHERINE PORTER. The Future of Philippine-American Relations. *Pacific Affairs*, Sept.
- THOMAS A. SEBEOK. The Languages of Southeastern Asia. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Aug.
- A. H. SEYMOUR. Burma since the War. *Jour. Royal Central Asian Soc.*, XXX, 37-52.
- A. F. THAVENOT. Thailand and the Japanese Invasion. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 111-19.
- M. W. F. TWEEDIE. Prehistory in Malaya. *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.* (1942), pp. 1-13.
- XYZ. Political Reconstruction in Postwar Burma. *Pacific Affairs*, Sept.
- The Chinese Draft Constitution. *Amerasia*, Oct. 25.
- CHIANG KAI-SHEK. Message to the Nation: To the Peoples of the United Nations. *China at War*, Aug.

## United States History

E. C. Burnett

### GENERAL

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY, 1492-1865. By Fred W. Wellborn, Associate Professor of History, Iowa State Teachers College. (New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xvi, 1042, \$3.50.) Taking the growth of a spirit of nationality as a unifying force in American history, the author of this textbook has endeavored to weave together "the woof of human experience with the warp of chronology and politics" (p. viii). Quite properly the pattern in the finished product is predominantly political, but the social and economic strands are clearly to be seen. As might be expected from one of Frederick Jackson Turner's former students, Professor Wellborn pays considerable attention to the Anglo-American westward movement; however, the related topics of geographic influences, the role of the Indian in American life, and the Spanish Southwest do not fare so well. In general much more emphasis is placed on the narration and description of events than on the explanation of underlying forces. But it is not to be expected that any text will contain everything that everybody might wish to find in it. In this one the findings of historical scholarship are accurately summarized, well organized, and clearly stated. Discursive and longer than some of its rivals for academic favor, this book makes room for many interesting side lights, short character sketches, and parenthetical explanations of terms usually taken for granted.

On the whole the book is attractive in appearance and the maps are adequate. The other illustrations—mainly portraits and outdoors scenes—are commonplace; almost no use is made of such visual aids as charts and graphs. The lengthy bibliography—nearly eighty pages—is not critical, except for brief notes on the general histories. The titles are well chosen from the secondary works; some will perhaps disagree with the author's opinion that these are "sufficient for most undergraduates and general readers" (p. 927) and will wish that attention had been called to more of the "classics" among the primary sources. Presumably students will like this book because of its clarity and readability.

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

**TALLEYRAND IN AMERICA AS A FINANCIAL PROMOTER, 1794-96: UNPUBLISHED LETTERS AND MEMOIRS.** Translated and edited by *Hans Huth* and *Wilma J. Pugh*. Foreword by F. L. Nussbaum. [Volume II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1941.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. vii, 181, 65 cents.) Sagan castle in Silesia, the residence of Talleyrand's niece Dorothea, duchess of Dino, has yielded an unpublished manuscript relating to Talleyrand in America. Though the existence of this dossier has been known for some time, it remained for Dr. Huth to obtain permission to copy the contents. The resulting volume publishes those sections which have not heretofore appeared. The widespread value of these papers is derived from the versatility and keen insight of Talleyrand himself. Perhaps the economic historian will find most grist for his mill because Talleyrand was a shrewd observer of the eighteenth century *marché*. Of undoubted interest will be the pages relating to speculation in bonds, the Anglo-American exchange, and the American land market. Likewise the memoirs exposing the potentialities of trade with India and China indicate the global nature of his commercial interest. There is less raw material for those attracted to the problem of the *émigrés*, Franco-American relationships, and the local history of Maine, Pennsylvania, and New York. The painstaking biography of Lacour-Gayet might have been improved in those sections dealing with America had Sagan castle been open earlier to the researcher. Adding to the value of the volume is the careful editorial effort which, through a comprehensive introduction (pp. 23) and notes, manages to refer to nearly all the known elements for the story of Talleyrand in America. An item might have been inserted (p. 91) indicating the existence of the photostats brought from Spain by Professor Bemis (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 778-87). The fact that Talleyrand received \$8,000 from Jaudenes, Spanish envoy to the United States, for a seemingly useless, if not fraudulent, piece of paper might explain why no notes were made on the conference with Jaudenes on January 13, 1795. The new evidence would seem to sustain earlier contentions that Talleyrand did not reap great profits from his various activities in the United States. The publication of these papers was a good project and the editors are to be congratulated on their selection of material.

RICHARD M. BRACE

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY: THE EARLY HISTORY OF SCIENCE AND LEARNING IN AMERICA, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.** Papers read before the American Philosophical Society Midwinter Meeting, February 13-14, 1942. (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1942, pp. 204, \$3.00.) It is two hundred years since the American Philosophical Society was founded by Benjamin Franklin. Now on the bicentenary of this event the Society has issued this splendid survey on the *Early History of Science and Learning in America*, with special reference to the work of the American Philosophical Society during the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries. The book consists of a series of papers read by a number of eminent scholars in Philadelphia on February 13-14, 1942, before the midwinter meeting of the Society in Philadelphia. It is impossible, of course, in a brief note to do more than indicate the contents of the volume. Following a most interesting introduction by Edwin G. Conklin the symposium begins with a fascinating study of "James Logan, A Colonial Mathematical Scholar and the First Copy of Newton's Principia to Arrive in the Colony," by F. E. Brasch. Next is an account of "Astronomy during the Early Years of the American Philosophical Society," by S. A. Mitchell. H. C. Richards writes on "Some Early American Physicists," and W. J. Humphreys presents "A Review of Papers on Meteorology and Climatology Published by the American Philosophical Society Prior to the Twentieth Century." Dr. B. Willis discusses "American Geology, 1850-1900," and D. C. Jackson has a paper on "Engineering in Our Early History." From the consideration of the physical sciences the symposium turns to the biological sciences. M. L. Wilson presents a "Survey of Scientific Agriculture," and M. L. Fernald tells of "Some Early Botanists of the American Philosophical Society." Seven additional papers cover such varied subjects as medicine, Joseph Priestley, entomology, paleontology, and the American Indian. It is readily seen that although a vast territory in the early history of science in America has been covered there are a notable number of areas of which no mention has been made. However, Dr. Conklin has promised in this introduction that those subjects mention of which is missing from this volume will be discussed in a succeeding publication. It is to be hoped that these forthcoming papers will reach the level of excellence set by this series of studies. American historians are indeed fortunate to have such a fine collection of papers on the beginnings of science in this country. May it serve as a stimulus to further studies in a field rich and still largely uncultivated.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND

THE UNITED STATES: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH. By *E. A. Benians*, Master of St. John's College. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. 110, \$1.25.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By *John D. Hicks*, Morrison Professor of American History, University of California, Berkeley. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1943, pp. xii, 859, xxxiv, \$4.00.)

AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Harold Underwood Faulkner*, Dwight Morrow Professor of History, Smith College. [Harper's Historical Series, under the editorship of Guy Stanton Ford.] Fifth edition. (New York, Harper, 1943, pp. xxiii, 784, \$3.75.) "This is the first time since 1931 that the volume has been entirely reset. . . . Above all, this revision has afforded an opportunity to include and acknowledge the results of much significant research done in recent years by scholars in this field."

YEARS OF THIS LAND: A GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Hermann R. Muelder* and *David M. Delo*. (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1943, pp. 243, \$2.50.) A historian and a geologist here present in nine lively chapters their concept of "geography in motion" across the United States. They are free to write unhampered, for the most part, by Congresses, laws, leaders, battles, or dates, because they are unconcerned with political, economic, diplomatic, industrial, or social history in the usual sense. From these realms they use only such points as they think pertinent to show the changing relation of the people to the land. The land is featured in two introductory chapters on the geologic background and modern meteorological aspects of this continent. The people monopolize the next three chapters, discussing the trans-Appalachian migration and the land acquisitions of 1775-1800, the transit of Yankees and immigrants northwestward and on to the prairies,

and the trans-Mississippi settlements. The use of the land by the people is the text of the concluding four chapters, describing waste of resources, need for conservation, political frontiers, and isolation. The whole is written with that liberal use of personalized adjectives, physical metaphors, and incisive comment which interests "average" readers and pricks them into some reflection on America's present predicaments. The basic principle of civilization, that all aspects of life rest on historic fact, needs continual reiteration in every field if we are to build electorate intelligence high enough to perpetuate our democratic experiment. *Years of This Land* capitally illustrates what history can do in the field of geography. It needs doing in every field, particularly in the engaging manner of Muelder and Delo, for the votes of our "average" citizens bulk far larger than those of "professional" historians. Among the latter the honors might perhaps be shared between those who write for scholars and those who clothe Clio in gay dress to catch the eye of casual readers. However, to reach the general reader such books as this should be printed in very large, cheap, paper-bound editions, sold in drugstores, dime stores, and groceries. They are too much separated from their proper readers if sold in boards over book counters. Nor need they be indexed; the index here appended is scarcely good enough to be of any use to one who employs indexes. Assuming the popular approach to be the primary concern of the authors, critics need not cavil at occasional oversimplification and error, as for example in treating the Monroe Doctrine and the Bessemer process. The maps must be enjoyed by everyone, particularly the capitivating maiden and matron who graphically show how "The Appalachians are no longer young, but the Rockies still preserve their figure."

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS. Volume XIII. (Northfield, Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1943, pp. viii, 203, \$2.00.) Every year for thirteen years there has come from the desk of the editor of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Dean Theodore C. Blegen, one of these trim, handsome little volumes. The set is rapidly attaining monumental proportions and shows no signs of coming to an end. The quality continues high, as has come to be expected as a matter of course from Professor Blegen, but Volume XIII seems to the reviewer to achieve something of a climax. The volume contains the usual "America Letter," this one by "A Norwegian Schoolmaster," edited by Professor C. A. Clausen. The schoolmaster, writing from Dane County, Wisconsin, in 1868, was much preoccupied with the politico-theological problem of the sinfulness of slavery. Dr. Clausen seems to miss a very salient historical point in this controversy when he attributes the schoolmaster's intense antislavery bias to his Republican political bias. The Norwegian-American laymen were continuing in this issue the Norwegian laymen's insistence on their right to do their own religious thinking, instead of merely following the upper-class clergy. Since this was an act of freedom, the laymen in both Norway and America naturally affiliated with the liberal political parties in both countries. The student of the American frontier, specifically the Norwegian-American frontier, will find primary source material in A. Lewenhaupt's "Official Report on Norwegian and Swedish Immigration, 1870," in Mrs. Naeseth's "Memories from Little Iowa Parsonage," in A. N. Rygg's "A Norwegian Settlement in Missouri," and in Dr. Einar Haugen's sympathetic edition of John Storseth's "Pioneering on the Pacific Coast." Dr. Paul Maurice Glasoe's "A Singing Church" is an outstanding contribution to the cultural history of the Norwegians in America by one who has participated in choral singing from its infancy to the maturity of the St. Olaf Choir. Few Norwegian-Americans know that Carl G. Barth, the co-worker of Frederick Winslow Taylor, was one of their stock, but Florence M. Manning places him in proper perspective. Out-



standing bibliographical contributions to both Scandinavian and Scandinavian-American history are made by Mr. Jacob Hodnefield and in "Materials in the National Archives Relating to the Scandinavian Countries," a report published with the consent of the national archivist, Solon J. Buck. The great Norwegian historian and statesman Halvdan Koht submits two important contributions. One is his review (in a translation by Einar Haugen) of Mr. Blegen's *Norwegian Migration to America*, Volume II, which places this splendid work in the best light of Norwegian scholarship. The other is a fascinating little report on Professor Koht's studies concerning the origin of the name of Norway, Maine. He concludes that it did not derive from any Norwegian settlers.

B. J. HOVDE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Volume 87, Number 3, THOMAS JEFFERSON. Papers read before the American Philosophical Society in celebration of the bicentennial of Thomas Jefferson, third President of the Society. (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1943, pp. iii, 199-289, \$1.00.) The volume contains the following papers: Edwin G. Conklin, "Introduction to the Jefferson Bicentennial Program"; Carl Becker, "What Is Still Living in the Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson?"; Roland S. Morris, "Jefferson as a Lawyer"; M. L. Wilson, "Thomas Jefferson—Farmer"; Louis B. Wright, "Thomas Jefferson and the Classics"; Harlow Shapley, "Notes on Thomas Jefferson as a Natural Philosopher"; Fiske Kimball, "Jefferson and the Arts"; John Dickinson, "The Old Political Philosophy and the New"; Gilbert Chinard, "Jefferson and the American Philosophical Society"; and Carl Van Doren, "The Beginnings of the American Philosophical Society."

JOHN BROWN, 1800-1859: A BIOGRAPHY FIFTY YEARS AFTER. By *Oswald Garrison Villard*. Revised edition. (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1943, pp. 752, \$5.00.) "Such important facts as have been brought to light since the original publication of this book by Houghton Mifflin in 1910 are summarized in the Addenda of this new edition. Many additions to the bibliography have also been made."

CHAUTAUQUA, AN AMERICAN PLACE. By *Rebecca Richmond*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943, pp. ix, 180, \$2.50.) Frankly designed as a popular account for the general public, this eminently readable little volume purports to set forth "a brief history of Chautauqua [Institution] from its origin to the present day." Background chapters are devoted to "The Place and the People" and "The Family Tree," in which tribute is paid to Holbrook's Lyceum, whose blood "our modern Chautauqua carries . . . in its veins." The concluding chapter pays its respects to the "spirit of democracy and service" which the author insists has continued to characterize Chautauqua since its reorganization in 1933-34. Eight intervening chapters trace the development from Chautauqua's inception in 1874 to its threatened collapse after 1929. Within the limits of its modest purpose *Chautauqua* is a very satisfactory piece of work, but little in it need detain the specialist. Although Mrs. Richmond has consulted the files of the *Chautauqua Daily Assembly Herald* and *The Chautauquan* (magazine), she has leaned heavily on such standard secondary accounts as J. H. Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement*, and J. L. Hurlbut, *The Story of Chautauqua*. There is no indication that any strictly source material has been utilized. Nevertheless, the book is handy for its summary of what has happened in the last twenty years to one of the most peculiarly American institutions. As an obviously ardent Chautauquan, Mrs. Richmond is careful to distinguish Chautauqua geographically from Chautauqua Point, New York, and ideologically from the chautauqua circuit, to which it was only remotely related. But she makes no effort to explain the organization of the institution and is merely pleasantly vague about its financing. If there is a hero in her pages, it is the late George E. Vincent.

CHARLES R. WILSON



AERONAUTIC AMERICANA: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON AERONAUTICS PUBLISHED IN AMERICA BEFORE 1900. By *N. H. Randers-Pehrson* and *A. G. Rensstrom*. [Library of Congress, Division of Aeronautics.] (New York, Institute of the Aeronautical Sciences, Sherman Fairchild Publication Fund, 1943, pp. 40.)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE RISE OF THE MODERN NAVY. By *Gordon Carpenter O'Gara*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1943, pp. x, 138, \$1.50.) Mr. O'Gara has presented concisely and interestingly a study of Theodore Roosevelt's contribution to the building of our present Navy. There are chapters on the administrative problems of the Navy Department, navy yards and bases, naval construction, the organization and distribution of the fleet, and naval personnel. Roosevelt, the author shows, instilled new spirit in Navy personnel; he encouraged able young officers with new ideas; he reformed naval gunnery, which had been shockingly bad; he concerned himself with modernizing naval construction and armament; he established the principle of maintaining one great fleet rather than scattering ships over the world; he doubled the enlisted strength and increased the number of officers; he forced a reluctant Congress to increase appropriations; he made the country Navy-conscious; and he pursued a "large" foreign policy that depended upon and in turn stimulated the growth of naval power. Yet the President was only partially successful in persuading older officers to discard outmoded practices. And, in spite of obvious successes, there were notable failures: in eliminating huge political appropriations for useless navy yards, in attaining necessary naval bases, in reforming cumbersome and ineffective administration, and in breaking bureaucratic control. Mr. O'Gara does not adequately explain why Roosevelt failed effectively to push reforms he constantly advocated in conversation with intimates and in presidential messages. In his preface Mr. O'Gara assures us that he will not develop motives or politics back of Roosevelt's naval program; and yet, in his introductory chapter, without thorough study, he does commit himself to statements about "the necessity for maintaining the balance of power in both Europe and Asia" and "the necessity of backing up diplomacy with armed force" that not only deal with political motives but express unsupported opinions as facts. From a useful bibliography Mr. O'Gara by some inadvertence omitted perhaps the best previous treatment of his subject, Morison's *Admiral Sims*, which he himself cited in footnotes. More serious, he failed to use rich manuscript collections such as those of Admiral Sims, Secretaries of the Navy Long and Bonaparte, and Theodore Roosevelt, or even the published *Papers of John Davis Long*. Within the limits, however, of dependence on printed materials and of greater brevity than Morison employed, Mr. O'Gara has worked thoroughly and carefully. Materials are well digested. The book is marked by accuracy, clarity—even in dealing with difficult technical subjects—readability, and usefulness for the layman. HOWARD K. BEALE

PRELIMINARY INVENTORY OF THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATION, 1917-1920. Part I, THE HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION. (Washington, National Archives, 1943, pp. xlv, 335.)

HOW OUR ARMY GREW WINGS: AIRMEN AND AIRCRAFT BEFORE 1919. By *Charles DeForest Chandler*, Late Colonel, United States Army, and *Frank P. Lahm*, Brigadier General, United States Army (Retired). (New York, Ronald Press, 1943, pp. xiii, 333, \$3.75.) "The objective of this book is to narrate experiences of the era when the Army first sprouted wings, thus supplying the lower end of a comparative measuring rod." The volume fully achieves its purpose. Appearing as it does in the year when aviation has observed its fortieth birthday and Orville Wright his seventy-second, when the R.A.F. celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, and when the

use of the air for war was more effective than ever in history, the book is a distinct addition to a group of recent monographs which are slowly building up the true story of the origins of military aviation. The first of the two authors, Colonel Chandler, now deceased, was the officer detailed in the original order of August 1, 1907, to set up an aeronautical division of the Signal Office. Brigadier General Lahm (Retired) was the winner of the first Gordon Bennett International Balloon Race in 1906 and third in chronological assignment to the aeronautical division. After a preliminary review of the history of ballooning in peace and war from 1783 to 1907 the authors turn to their principal narrative, the development of Army aviation in the United States following the acceptance of the first Wright airplane in August, 1909. Frequently mentioned in the story are Army officers destined to become famous in their country's history: among these were Thomas E. Selfridge, No. 2, assigned in 1907; Benjamin D. Foulois, No. 4, in 1908; Henry H. Arnold, No. 14, in 1911; Lewis H. Brereton, No. 24, in 1912; and Herbert A. Dargue, No. 31, in 1913. Accounts are given of the invention of the first United States bomb-sight in 1911, of the development of the parachute in 1914; of the Army pilot training courses to 1914, and, finally, of the creation of an aviation section in the Signal Corps on July 18, 1914. The book is enlivened by scores of interesting anecdotes and by forty-three excellent photographs. It is made useful as a reference work by seventeen detailed appendixes and a good index. The only error noted is an arithmetical blunder in the table on page 320. J. DUANE SQUIRES

THE WPA AND FEDERAL RELIEF POLICY. By *Donald S. Howard*. (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1943, pp. 879, \$4.00.) "The primary concern of this volume is with the lessons to be drawn from experience under the WPA and other relief programs, and the application of this knowledge to the development of any similar understanding in the post-war period."

BROADCASTING HISTORY: THE STORY OF THE STORY BEHIND THE HEADLINES. By *Evelyn Plummer Read*, Member of the Radio Committee of the American Historical Association. [Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History, Volume I, Number 7, October, 1943.] (Washington, American Association for State and Local History, 1943, pp. 161-88.) Mrs. Read gives a short summary of the growth of the "Story behind the Headlines," a project begun six years ago somewhat as an experiment by the Radio Committee of the American Historical Association. It has now earned a secure and esteemed place for itself among radio programs. The success of the program pays real tribute to the care and attention with which its beginnings were fostered and also to the work of Cesar Saerchinger, of N.B.C., the director of the series. It may be discouraging to some historians that the committee thought it necessary artfully to plan that for "each talk some event or problem of front page importance in the contemporary world should serve as springboard for a discussion . . . of its historical background, the forces which it had set in motion or contributed to its development." It seems like chocolate-coating. But it is most gratifying to know that the Association through the medium of radio is aiding in the historical education of uncouneted listeners who may because of this effort understand better in the light of the past the surge of events today and perhaps play a more useful part in the enlightened America of the postwar world.

MCMURTRIE IMPRINTS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SEPARATELY PRINTED WRITINGS BY DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. With an appraisal of McMurtrie's work by *Charles F. Heartman*. [Heartman's Historical Series, No. 65.] (Hattiesburg, Book Farm, 1942, pp. 55.) This is a deserved tribute to one of America's most distinguished bibliographers, typographers, and historians of printing and the graphic

arts. The bibliography of McMurtrie's publications is a useful aid to the historian of civilization in America.

UNION LIST OF SERIALS IN LIBRARIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Edited by *Winifred Gregory*. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1943, pp. 3065, service basis.)

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AS PUBLISHER. By *LeRoy Charles Merritt*. [The University of Chicago Studies in Library Science.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943, pp. xv, 179, \$2.00.) This work, with its thirty-three illustrations and forty-two tables, gives us a complete analysis of the present output of the publishing offices of the United States, with an examination of the purpose for which these documents are issued and a notation of the departments of the government issuing them. Also a study is made of the problems of distribution. Some of the tables draw us a picture of the publications of the various departments over a period of forty years and the percentages spent by the departments for printing. In addition to documents printed by the government printer there are "processed" publications (*i.e.*, multigraph, mimeograph, etc.) which come from department presses. The public printer recommended that all this material be centralized, that the Government Printing Office be authorized to place an employee in each department to decide whether material should be processed or printed. The author suggests that this plan would solve many problems. The methods of distribution of government publications are complex. Many documents are free for the asking—some of these are distributed by Congress, some by the departments; many other items are sold by the superintendent of documents. Five hundred and forty-four libraries in the country are designated as depositories and receive one free copy of all public documents. Other libraries must attempt to get them free or by purchase. This policy creates a problem and the author suggests as a solution: "It would seem to be reasonably within the intent of the original deposition legislation to allow all free, public libraries to receive without cost those documents it needs and that it has the facilities to house and service."

ARTHUR C. PULLING

CANADA: MEMBER OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND GOOD NEIGHBOR OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Frederick George Marcham*, Goldwin Smith Professor of English History in Cornell University. [Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History, No. 1.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1943, pp. 78, 40 cents.)

THE FAR EAST AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Knight Biggerstaff*, Associate Professor of History in Cornell University. [Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History, No. 2.] (*Ibid.*, 1943, pp. 60, 40 cents.) The Cornell University Press has published these two pamphlets as part of a series designed to aid high-school teachers in reorganizing their courses in American history by emphasizing this country's relations with other countries. Both bulletins follow a similar plan, including an interpretative analysis, a bibliography, study and discussion questions, and activities for pupils. Future publications in the series, which is made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, will deal with Latin America and will treat more extensively the Far East and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

MONETARY REFORM MOVEMENTS: A SURVEY OF RECENT PLANS AND PANACEAS. By *Joseph R. Reeve*. Introduction by Willard L. Thorp. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. xiv, 404, cloth \$3.75, paper, \$3.25.) This monograph is indispensable to an understanding of the proposals for monetary reform that clogged the mails and agitated the lobbies of Washington for a decade

after the crash of 1929. Written by a permanent official of the Budget Bureau it is based upon a comprehensive survey of primary materials. Its appearance in the midst of a war financed by inadequate taxation and heavy borrowing, supported by bank credit expansion and currency inflation, is especially timely. It should prove useful in the postwar era of unpredictable but admittedly grave fiscal problems. Its historical significance lies in its dispassionate description and analysis of an important but frequently misunderstood phase of the New Deal. While the middle class of Continental Europe was drawn to fascism as an escape from the millstones of monopoly capitalism and grinding depression, similar elements in America turned to monetary reform as the means of economic and social salvation. The result was a conscious revival and elaboration of the traditional debtor-agrarian faith in the political control and manipulation of currency and credit as the proper method of overcoming depressions and correcting maladjustments in the economic system. It produced a series of proposals that ranged from devaluation, a managed currency, remonetization of silver, and deficit financing to outright inflation, manipulation of the Federal Reserve System, and even nationalization of the banking system. Active support for one or more of these reforms came not only from the middle class and farmer organizations but also from speculative, construction, and banking interests, the Hearst press, and even the Socialist party and the American Federation of Labor. The chaotic and highly explosive situation resulting from the propaganda methods and pressure group tactics of the monetary reformers was the driving force behind the formulation of New Deal monetary, fiscal, and banking policies. The character and modifications of the New Deal monetary program, the leadership furnished the monetary reform movement by such figures as Father Charles E. Coughlin, Senator Elmer Thomas, and Professor Irving Fisher, and eleven major reforms that were pressed upon the government by their enthusiastic adherents are carefully appraised in the light of economic theory and the contemporary climate of politics and opinion by this valuable treatise.

CHESTER MCA. DESTLER

TEN—AND OUT! THE COMPLETE STORY OF THE PRIZE RING IN AMERICA.

Foreword by Jack Dempsey. Revised edition. (New York, Ives Washburn, 1943, pp. 400, \$2.75.)

ARTICLES

- WILLIAM L. LUCEY. Colonial Freedom of Conscience. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.  
 MARY KENT DAVEY BABCOCK. Difficulties and Dangers of Pre-Revolutionary Ordinations. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, Sept.  
 LYNN W. TURNER. Thomas Jefferson through the Eyes of a New Hampshire Politician [William Plumer]. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.  
 GEORGE H. KNOLES. The Religious Ideas of Thomas Jefferson. *Ibid.*  
 GILBERT CHINARD. Jefferson's Influence Abroad. *Ibid.*  
 CHARLES A. BEARD. Thomas Jefferson: A Civilized Man. *Ibid.*  
 G. MACLAREN BRYDON. Thomas Jefferson—Churchman [corrections to article of Catharine D. Horsley in July issue]. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Oct.  
 CURTIS P. NETTELS. The American Merchant and the Constitution. *Publ. Col. Soc. Massachusetts: Transactions*, 1937-42, XXXIV.  
 C. B. JUDGE. Navy Powder Goes on a Journey: An Episode of the War of 1812. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Sept.  
 HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY. Hawaii and the American Penetration of the Northeastern Pacific, 1800-1845. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Sept.  
 RICHARD HOFSTADTER. William Leggett, Spokesman of Jacksonian Democracy. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Dec.  
 RICHARD J. PURCELL. Missionaries from All Hallows (Dublin) to the United States, 1842-1865. *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Dec., 1942.

- R. GERALD McMURTRY. Disappointed Presidential Hopefuls in 1860. *Lincoln Herald*, Oct.
- JAMES DAUGHERTY. On the Lincoln Trail. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, Sept.
- HARRY E. PRATT. Lincoln Pilots the *Talisman*. *Ibid.*
- DANIEL H. NEWHALL. A Bookseller Remembers. *Ibid.*
- RUFUS ROCKWELL WILSON. Learning about Lincoln: A Chronicle and an Estimate. *Lincoln Herald*, Oct.
- ROBERT L. KINCAID. Workshop of a Lincoln Scholar [Dr. F. Lauriston Bullard]. *Ibid.*
- HARRY E. PRATT. Dr. Anson G. Henry, Lincoln's Physician and Friend. *Ibid.*
- HOWARD R. MARRARO. Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi: Further Light on a Disputed Point of History. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Sept.
- DONALD MARQUAND DOZER. Anti-Expansionism during the Johnson Administration. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- BRUNO LASKER. Come in but Close the Door behind You: Chinese Exclusion in the United States. *Pacific Affairs*, Sept.
- GEORGE HARMON KNOLES. Populism and Socialism with Special Reference to the Election of 1892. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR. Hawaiian Labor and Immigration Problems before Annexation. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.
- FULMER MOOD. The Historiographic Setting of Turner's Frontier Essay: Comments on the Occasion of Its Fiftieth Anniversary. *Agricultural Hist.*, July.
- RODNEY C. LOEHR. Moving Back from the Atlantic Seaboard. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- MERLO J. PUSEY. Revolution at Home. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July.
- HANSON W. BALDWIN. America at War: Summer, 1943. *For. Affairs*, Oct.
- DUDLEY W. KNOX. The Navy's History Program. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Sept.
- GEORGE WILSON WILLOUGHBY. Cooperation between the State and Federal Departments of Agriculture. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, Oct.
- GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE. Why We Are Called Americans. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar. Bull.*, Oct.
- H. PAUL CAEMMERER. Sesquicentennial of the United States Capitol. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Oct.
- CHARLES H. WESLEY. The Treatment of the Negro in the Teaching of United States History. *Social Educ.*, Nov.
- FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN. "Bill of Attainder" in the Seventy-eighth Congress. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Oct.

## DOCUMENTS

- HOWARD R. MARRARO. Unpublished Mazzei Correspondence during His American Mission to Europe, 1780-1783 [I]. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, July.
- JOSEPH T. DURKIN. Journal of the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, U.S.S. *North Carolina*. 1824-1825. *Reccs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Mar.

## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

## THE NEW ENGLAND AND WILLOW TREE COINAGES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

By Sydney P. Noe. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 102.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1943, pp. 55, plates xvi, \$3.00.)

## CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN A DEMOCRACY: THEORY AND PRACTICE IN NEW YORK STATE.

By Vernon A. O'Rourke, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College, and Douglas W. Campbell, Assistant Professor of Government, Union College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, New Series, No. 29.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1943, pp. xiii, 286, \$2.75.) This is a study dedicated to the proposition that the processes of self-government in a democratic society, even constitution-making, are not and cannot be "above politics." The constitutional convention has become a symbol for a body of all-wise, nonpolitical beings deliberating majestically on fundamental law. The authors have supplied a painstakingly thorough description of the New York convention of 1938, from the struggle over its origin through its sessions with the job politics, party

strategy, and pressure politics evident therein—all of which they hold to be the stuff of which politics is made. Particularly detailed attention is given to the action of the sovereign people on the convention's work. This topic occupies more than two thirds of the pages of the book. According to their survey New York's experience has produced a joining of the idea of a constitution as a limitation upon power with the idea of a constitution as an embodiment of policy-making by the people. To reverence for the symbol has been added the people's share in the making of policy. For all their success in displaying the likeness of the characteristics, procedures, and techniques of the 1938 convention to those of an ordinary legislature, the authors do not favor the discarding of the former. In their view this would be dangerously like trying to take politics out of democracy; and they find it worth while that institutional expression should be given to the total process of popular constitution-making, which they regard as symbolizing the superior authority of the action of the "People-as-a-Whole." The arguments and the historical and factual descriptions are couched in fairly readable style and the book will interest—and perhaps be provocative—both for intelligent New Yorkers and for students of political science. CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER

## ARTICLES

- ROBERT E. MOODY. The Proposed Colony of Georgia in New England, 1713–1733. *Publ. Col. Soc. Massachusetts: Transactions, 1937–1942*, XXXIV.
- RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN. Early Rehoboth Families and Events. *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct.
- RICHARD MUNTHE BRACE. Talleyrand in New England: Reality and Legend. *New Eng. Quar.*, Sept.
- KEITH R. HUTCHISON. James Gordon Carter [1795–1849]: Educational Reformer. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES A. MADISON. Benjamin R. Tucker [1854–1939]: Individualist and Anarchist. *Ibid.*
- Court Martial of Isaac Tichenor, Sometime Governor of Vermont [1780]. *Proc. Vermont Hist. Soc.*, Sept.
- MARGARET T. SMALLEY. Notes on Early Vermont Artists. *Ibid.*
- JOHN C. HUDEN. Beginnings of Catholic Schools in Vermont. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT DAVIS. Middlebury Sketches: II, Shortleeve Emporium. *Ibid.*
- EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON. Deficiencies in Our History and Research in Progress. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE L. HASKINS. Gavelkind and the Charter of Massachusetts Bay. *Publ. Col. Soc. Massachusetts: Transactions, 1937–1942*, XXXIV.
- ERNEST S. DODGE. Captain Benjamin Vanderford of Salem [1788–1842]. *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, Oct.
- JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS. East India Voyages of Salem Vessels before 1800 [concl.]. *Ibid.*, July, Oct.
- HENRY WYCKOFF BELKNAP. A Check List of Salem Privateers in the War of 1812 [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- ARTHUR J. ALEXANDER. Federal Officeholders in New York State as Slaveholders, 1789–1805. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, July.
- HARRY J. CARMAN and REINHARD H. LUTHIN. The Séward-Fillmore Feud and the Disruption of the Whig Party. *New York Hist.*, July.
- EARL S. POMEROY. The Visit of the Russian Fleet in 1863. *Ibid.*, Oct.
- TURPIN C. BANNISTER. Some Early Iron Buildings in New York. *Ibid.*
- LESTER GROSVENOR WELLS. Myrtilla Miner [established in 1851 a school for colored youth in Washington, D. C.]. *Ibid.*, July.
- ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR. Thomas Eddy and the Beginnings of Prison Reform in New York. *Ibid.*
- DAVID MALDWYN ELLIS. Albany and Troy—Commercial Rivals. *Ibid.*, Oct.
- Preliminary Checklist of Batavia Imprints [I, II]. *Ibid.*, July, Oct.
- COURTNEY R. HALL. Early Days in Hempstead, Long Island. *Ibid.*, Oct.
- Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in New York State (Exclusive of New York City), Supplements nos. 1, 2, 3. *Ibid.*, Apr., July, Oct.
- CLIFFORD LORD. The Farmers' Museum: The Museum of the New York Historical Association at Cooperstown. *Agricultural Hist.*, July.



- WILLIAM STARR MYERS. New Jersey Politics from the Revolution to the Civil War. *Americana*, July.
- JULIA SABINE. Silversmiths of New Jersey. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, Oct.
- MARY CLEMENT. Henry Nichols: The First Residential S. P. G. Missionary to Pennsylvania. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, Sept.
- J. BENNETT NOLAN. An Introduction to Southeastern Pennsylvania History. *Americana*, July.
- ALTA SCHROCK. Amish Americans: Frontiersmen. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, Mar.
- HENRY KING SIEBENECK. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and the Taxation of America. *Ibid.*
- ELLIS B. BURGESS. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Western Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*

#### DOCUMENTS

- ROBERT L. STRAKER. Letters from Samuel G. Howe to Horace Mann. *New Eng. Quar.*, Sept.
- Narrative of Richard Lee [concl.]. *Proc. Vermont Hist. Soc.*, Sept.
- GEORGE M. ELSEY. John Wilkes and William Palfrey. *Publ. Col. Soc. Massachusetts: Transactions, 1937-1942*, XXXIV.
- GRETA G. HUGHES and RICHARD OWEN. A German Duke in America [Grand Duke Karl Bernhard, House of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, 1825; from *Die Reise durch Nord Amerika*, 1828]. *New York Hist.*, Oct.
- BRUCE T. McCULLY. Civil War Diary of Samuel Tiebout [concl.]. *Ibid.*, July.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND, 1764-1765. J. Hall Pleasants, Editor. [Archives of Maryland, LIX.] (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1942, pp. lxxiii, 482.)

COLONEL WILLIAM FLEMING ON THE VIRGINIA FRONTIER, 1755-1783. By William D. Hoyt, jr. [Dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1940.] (Charlottesville, the author, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, 1942, pp. 99-119, 405-34, 175-210, lithoprinted.)

WILLIAM PRESTON JOHNSTON: A TRANSITIONAL FIGURE OF THE CONFEDERACY. By Arthur Marvin Shaw. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1943, pp. xv, 299, \$3.00.) William Preston Johnston is worth a biography if for no other reason than the fact that, though a "Deke" and a "Bones man" at Yale, he ended his career as a college president in the South. So distinct a reversal of fortune suggests a life of some vicissitude, and such his was. The son of General Albert Sidney Johnston, he was raised from infancy by relatives of his mother, who died while he was still a baby, in Louisville. In 1852 he graduated with distinction from Yale, and for almost a decade he practiced law, not too successfully, in his native city and in New York. An ardent supporter of Southern rights, the autumn of 1861 found him fighting in Virginia as lieutenant colonel of a Kentucky regiment. Shortly a severe illness ended his field service, and he spent the rest of the war as aide-de-camp to President Davis, with whom he remained on terms of closest intimacy. Upon his release from Federal prison, his burning desire to write the biography of his father and poor financial conditions, both public and private, caused him to accept a position as Kentucky professor of history at Washington University under the presidency of General Lee. In 1872 he resigned and devoted the next six years to the biography. Its publication brought him little financial return, a bitter disappointment, but it did result in his election to the presidency of Louisiana State University in 1880 and of the small New Orleans college which Paul Tulane endowed several years later with \$1,000,000. Thanks to the biography and three volumes of saccharine verse, in addition to his eloquent oratory, Johnston achieved quite a literary reputation in his day. His real contribution, however, was to education, for which he was an ardent



and ubiquitous crusader. Privately endowed colleges were essential to the health of democracy both in the South and in the nation, he reiterated, and men of means should support them. Though he was unable to obtain more of the Tulane fortune than the original donation, he persuaded Mrs. Josephine Newcomb to contribute \$3,000,000 for a woman's college of the university. His educational policy, in theory and in practice, was amazingly broad: the ideal university was "the one most exactly adapted to the condition of the people whom it is designated to educate." A man of genuine intellectual stature, in spite of the conservatism of his section and his profession, he boldly attacked the contemporary plutocracy and publicly advocated labor unions, hours of labor laws, a graduated income tax, and other Populist reforms. Dr. Shaw has done a painstaking job of research and writing. He has written a narrative of Johnston's life rather than an interpretation of the man himself, but Tulane's first president may have been the type who does not co-operate with his biographer. Some readers, including the reviewer, will regret the author's occasional lapse into a eulogistic attitude and language characteristic of the Old South and the U.D.C. This minor fault can be discounted in view of his choice of an excellent and a difficult subject.

GERALD M. CAPERS, JR.

#### ARTICLES

- JOSEPH H. PARKS. John Bell and the Compromise of 1850. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.
- WILLIAM O. LYNCH. The Westward Flow of Southern Colonists before 1861. *Ibid.*
- RICHARD D. STEUART. Confederate Buttons. *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, July.
- JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER. Literary Culture and Eighteenth Century Maryland: Summary of Findings. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, Sept.
- HAMILTON OWENS. Maryland's First Warship [the *Defence*]. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES BRANCH CLARK. Politics in Maryland during the Civil War [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- RAPHAEL SEMMES. Civil War Song Sheets: One of the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. *Ibid.*
- NANNIE BALL NIMMO and WILLIAM B. MARYE. Light on the Family of Governor Josias Fendall. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON. The Colonial Churches of Prince George and Dinwiddie Counties, Virginia. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, July.
- B. RANDOLPH WELLFORD, ELLEN B. WOOLDRIDGE, and CLAYTON TORRENCE. A Catalogue of the Principal Publications of the Virginia Historical Society, 1833-1843. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- Matthew Fontaine Maury's Holy Bible [Oxford, 1859]. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Oct.
- ANNE FLOYD UPSHUR and RALPH T. WHITELAW. Library of the Rev. Thomas Teackle. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, July.
- CLAYTON TORRENCE. The Semi-Centennial of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN. Slaves Virtually Free in Ante-Bellum North Carolina. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, July.
- DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. Some Nineteenth Century South Carolina Imprints, 1801-1820 [cont.]. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, July.
- EMMA B. RICHARDSON. Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants [concl.]. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM M. GEER. Francis Lieber at the South Carolina College. *Proc. South Carolina Hist. Assoc.*, 1943.
- EUGENE P. LINK. The Republican Society of Charleston. *Ibid.*
- ALFRED O. ALDRIDGE. George Whitefield's Georgia Controversies. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.
- CHARLES L. MOWAT. The Enigma of William Drayton. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, July.
- JAMES W. SILVER. C. P. J. Mooney of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, Crusader for Diversification [1908-26]. *Agricultural Hist.*, Apr.
- HARRY L. COLES, JR. Some Notes on Slaveownership and Landownership in Louisiana, 1850-1860. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.

- ARTHUR FREEMAN. The Early Career of Pierre Soulé. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Oct., 1942.  
 STANLEY FAYE. The Forked River. *Ibid.*  
 E. W. WINKLER. Check List of Texas Imprints. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Oct.  
 ANDREW FOREST MUIR. The Destiny of Buffalo Bayou. *Ibid.*

## DOCUMENTS

- KENNETH M. STAMPP. Letters from the Washington Peace Conference of 1861. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.  
 WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR. The Calvert-Stier Correspondence [cont.]. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, Sept.  
 HOWARD R. MARRARO. Jefferson's Letters Concerning the Settlement of Mazzei's Virginia Estate. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.  
 The Burning of the Richmond Theatre, 1811: A Letter from Thomas R. Joynes to Levin S. Joynes [Dec. 27, 1811]. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.  
 W. A. BRYAN. Three Unpublished Letters of Parson Weems. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, July.  
 JAY B. HUBBELL. Some New Letters of Walter Savage Landor [to G. P. R. James, 1838-41]. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.  
 ROSS B. JOHNSTON. West Virginians in the American Revolution [Mace to McCune]. *West Virginia Hist.*, Oct.  
 SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY. The Memoirs of Frederick Augustus Porcher [cont.]. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, July.  
 JAMES A. PADGETT. The Documents Showing That the United States Ultimately Financed the West Florida Revolution of 1810. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Oct., 1942.  
 JULIA KATHRYN GARRETT. Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier [letters 9 and 10, Oct. 12, Nov. 20, 1808]. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, July.

## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

EMILY DONELSON OF TENNESSEE. By *Pauline Wilcox Burke*. Two volumes. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1941, xvi, 297; vii, 245, \$5.00 per set.) Emily Tennessee Donelson was a member of the numerous and influential Donelson clan, the descendants of Colonel John Donelson, who led a group of settlers in 1780 on a thousand-mile voyage in flatboats down the Holston and Tennessee rivers and up the Ohio and the Cumberland to make their homes in Nashville and its vicinity. Andrew Jackson became a member of this family when he married Rachel Robards, Colonel John's daughter. Emily was Rachel Jackson's niece; she married Andrew Jackson Donelson, her first cousin and the ward of the future President; and at the age of twenty-one she became Jackson's "Lady of the White House." These two volumes are something more than the story of Emily Donelson's life. With obvious pride, with imagination, and with a good deal of sentiment, the author, herself a member of the Donelson clan, has written a gossipy, anecdotal, and somewhat romanticized history of the Donelsons of Tennessee during approximately the half century that ended with Emily's death in 1836. There is a wealth of detail about the personal relationships of the Donelsons and their neighbors, their courtships, their marriages, their childbearing, their deaths. The style of the narrative is itself a record. Shortly after Emily's birth, for example, it is related that her relatives "greeted the wee one sleeping peacefully in her . . . cradle carved from the trunk of a tree from the nearby forest." One of Emily's alleged suitors is described as "that gay young blade Sam Houston," and her future husband as "Emily's Sir Walter Raleigh." A "suppressed tinge of melancholy" in some of her letters is ascribed "to the fact that the dread germ of tuberculosis was at its work in her frail body." There is much in these volumes about Andrew Jackson, not in relation to affairs of state, except incidentally, but in regard to his personal relationships. A good bit can be learned from them about the

personality of Jackson that is not apparent in biographies concerned with matters considered to be of greater moment than, for example, the President's participation in the christening of Emily's first "White House baby." Several chapters contain an account of Emily's career in the White House, social life in Washington, and, inevitably, the Peggy Eaton feud. The author of these volumes appears to have been indefatigable in her search for information. The forty-nine pages of notes that document her story contain numerous references to privately owned manuscripts as well as manuscript collections in the possession of the Library of Congress and other institutions. From these she has often quoted at length, letting the actors on her family stage tell their own story. The book is abundantly illustrated with reproductions of Donelson family portraits and photographs of coats of arms, heirlooms, and the like. Mrs. Burke's study of the history of her family has produced results that, in many respects, are worthy of emulation by others of that large group who seek knowledge of their ancestors. The social historian can read these volumes with profit.

P. M. HAMER

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, THE HUDSON ERA: A HISTORY OF WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE AND ACADEMY AT HUDSON, OHIO, FROM 1826 TO 1862. By *Frederick Clayton Waite*, Professor Emeritus in Western Reserve University. (Cleveland, Western Reserve University Press, 1943, pp. xv, 540.) Western Reserve College, founded at Hudson, Ohio, in 1826, is another example of the impact of New England theology and intellectualism upon the early Middle West. It was outstanding for several decades because of standards of scholarship comparable with those of the older New England institutions. It emphasized science as well as theology and moral philosophy; it had the first observatory west of the Alleghenies and, until 1858, the only branch of Phi Beta Kappa west of Schenectady; and it developed four departments—collegiate, preparatory, and theological departments and a medical branch in nearby Cleveland. This volume follows the history of Western Reserve College during its first fifty-six years, until it moved to Cleveland to become an urban university, leaving its preparatory department behind in Hudson to grow eventually into the independent Western Reserve Academy of today. There is bound to be much detail in a volume of this kind which makes rather tedious reading except for alumni, students, and friends of the school, but the author has made a conspicuous effort to relate his story to the larger educational and historical currents of the day. He has assembled a mass of material on early catalogues, faculty, trustees, calendars, commencements, student life, library, faculty regulations, literary societies and fraternities, the financial struggles of the institution, and the administrations of its first four presidents. Much of this has considerable general value to students of the history of education in the United States. This is a sound and scholarly piece of work, based on extensive research in the local materials and in the history of sister institutions. The college's most serious competitor in the early days was nearby Oberlin. Its students were penalized if they displayed "a strong determination" to visit that fanatical haven of Perfectionism. The writer, after the lapse of all these years, still reveals considerable feeling in his references to Western Reserve's early rival.

CARL WITKE

THE JOHN TIPTON PAPERS. With an Introduction by Paul Wallace Gates, Cornell University. Volume I, 1809-1827, compiled by *Glen A. Blackburn*, edited by *Nellie Armstrong Robertson* and *Dorothy Riker*. Volume II, 1828-1833, and Volume III, 1834-1839, compiled and edited by *Nellie Armstrong Robertson* and *Dorothy Riker*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volumes XXIV, XXV, XXVI.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942, pp. xix, 909; xi, 947; ix, 927, \$11.00 for three volumes.) In

a recent issue of a nationally known magazine for autograph and historical collectors tribute was paid to the Indiana Historical Society and other such organizations "for their progressive attitude." The publications issued by these groups, the article asserted, "show how ably they are attacking the new problem of enlivening their institutions and avoiding the stigma of 'mausoleum' recently applied to one of their group." The work under review is a good illustration of the accuracy of this observation. John Tipton was one of the leading figures in the early history of Indiana. Beginning his political career in the pioneer territory, he soon became known throughout the state as a large land- and mill-owner. He strenuously championed internal improvements. He was recognized as one of the outstanding Indian agents in the state. This experience later made him invaluable in Congress as a member of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. On other national issues, however, his voice was usually weak or entirely silent. *The John Tipton Papers* are based largely on a collection of some 7,500 pieces of manuscript, consisting of journals, memoranda, receipts, letters to and from Tipton, and various other papers in the Indiana State Library. The editing of the papers is well done. The spelling and punctuation of manuscript sources have been preserved. Dr. Gates's valuable summary of the activities of Tipton furnishes a good introduction to the volumes. The footnotes are adequate. Each volume has its own comprehensive index. While such a work as this would not have a widespread popular appeal, yet the layman historian as well as the research scholar will find much interesting reading in these pages. I. GEORGE BLAKE

THE INDIANA HOME. By *Logan Esarey*, Late Professor of History at Indiana University. (Crawfordsville, Indiana, R. E. Banta, 1943, pp. 108, \$3.00.) Dr. Logan Esarey labored for nearly three decades at Indiana University as teacher, editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, and editor and author of several volumes and monographs on various phases of Indiana history, in which field he came to be regarded as an eminent authority. This little volume, published posthumously, consists of a series of essays found among his papers. The scope and content of the volume are clearly indicated by the subjects treated: "The First Inhabitants," "The Cabin in the Clearing," "The Indiana Home," "Farm Life in the Fifties," "The Settler Becomes a Citizen," and "A Tale or Two." Written primarily for young people, whom Dr. Esarey delighted to instruct in the early history of his native state, the essays are couched in simple and picturesque language. They exhibit many characteristics of the author, who liked to consider himself as a typical Hoosier. His subtle wit, sparkling humor, homely philosophy, hatred of sham and pretense, and fondness for pointed illustration are evident on nearly every page. Taken as a whole, the essays present a rather adequate word picture of the various stages in the development of civilization in the Hoosier state from its earliest white settlement to the eve of the Civil War. This attractive little volume is published in a limited edition of only 325 copies. The smallness of the edition is a matter of regret, as this is the sort of work that should be placed in the hands of every schoolchild in Indiana.

WALTER PRICHARD

GIANTS GONE: MEN WHO MADE CHICAGO. By *Ernest Poole*. (New York, Whittlesey House, 1943, pp. 354, \$2.75.) In his *Giants Gone: Men Who Made Chicago*, Ernest Poole, well-known Chicago novelist, has written anecdotally of some of Chicago's important personages. On the whole, he has chosen to describe the builders of trade, the miracle-makers of big business, and a few of those who promoted things of the spirit, rather than politicians who somehow or other never tried long enough, or hard enough, to make Chicago as effective and great in government as many of these other leaders tried in their respective fields. It is true, of course, that the men

of whom he writes, sometimes uncritically, frequently connived with political bosses and others who countenanced undertakings of doubtful value and honesty. Some of them even held political office, especially those who lived in the forties, fifties, and sixties. There are nineteen "giants" whom Mr. Poole considers as having enough "bold vision, buoyant courage and deep tireless vitality" (p. 4) to merit inclusion in his book—qualities, he thinks, needed but lacking at the present time. It is true that the chosen nineteen practiced these virtues assiduously, but that they were monopolized by Chicagoans of other days is surely debatable. All the "giants" described are great in the eyes of Chicagoans, but to others the sketches of Cyrus McCormick, Marshall Field, Allan Pinkerton, P. D. Armour, George M. Pullman, Jane Addams, Theodore Thomas, and William Rainey Harper will appear the most interesting and important. For his biographies Mr. Poole has drawn upon his own memories and upon the recollections of persons still living who knew his subjects. A bibliography of printed sources examined appears at the close of the book, but several of the best and most authoritative works are not listed. A table of contents would have been helpful to those wishing a catalogue of the men discussed. The book, in brief, is a clearly and interestingly written recapitulation of generally familiar facts. BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

MISSOURI, DAY BY DAY. *Floyd C. Shoemaker*, Editor. Volume I. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942, pp. v, 446.) This day-by-day calendar of significant events in Missouri history covers the first six months of the year. Only four dates failed to reveal an event or birth date of some importance in Missouri's history. Particularly commendable are the short bibliographies following each article. Volume II, completing the year, will soon appear.

PETER MELENDY: THE MIND AND THE SOIL. By *Luella M. Wright*. [Iowa Biographical Series, established by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1943, pp. 360, \$2.00.) Every Midwestern community, perhaps every American community, had in its early history one or more Peter Melendys. He or they were among the first arrivals. They saw great opportunities in the future for themselves and the raw village of straggling houses. They, like Peter Melendy, bought land, started stores, and then a bank, built a church, a school, started a newspaper, sought to head a railroad their way and to capture the county seat from other like towns with their Peter Melendys. This particular Peter Melendy settled in Cedar Falls, Iowa. He was naturally a respected leading citizen, a worthy but in no way distinguished example of the very worthy and hitherto undistinguished men who picked town sites on a river bank or in the wide open prairies and started the scores of "Biggest Little Cities West of Chicago." It is not an exciting story but you will understand the beginnings of culture in the Corn Belt only from such plodding chronicles. This Peter Melendy seems to have overlooked the best thing in the limits of his town for although he pushed the agricultural school in Ames he does not figure much, if at all, in the founding and rise of the present claim of Cedar Falls to distinction, namely the only teachers college in all Iowa.

THE MONTANA FRONTIER. By *Merrill G. Burlingame*, Professor of History, Montana State College. (Helena, State Publishing Company, 1942, pp. xiii, 418, \$2.50.) The Montana frontier, as viewed by Dr. Burlingame, begins with the coming of Lewis and Clark and disappears for the most part by the time Montana became a state in 1889. The purpose of this book, as stated in the preface, is to present some of the more important movements of the period "with greater detail than the average text can include, yet briefly enough to be useful to the general reader." Disclaiming the work is a text, the author has used a combination of both the topical and

chronological approaches in the presentation of his material with general success. The first six chapters are devoted to the period prior to the organization of Montana Territory in 1864, with emphasis upon the fur trade, Indian policy, early transportation, and the work of the Army in exploring, guarding, and developing the Western country. The nine remaining chapters deal successively with government and men during the territorial period, the new Indian policy, the military in Montana and the Indian wars, the open range, religion and culture on the frontier, and the beginnings of agriculture. The author is at his best in the chapters on Indian and military affairs—approximately one third of the book—chapters which, to the knowledge of the reviewer, constitute the most authoritative account in print of this phase of Montana's history. Dr. Burlingame's approach is scholarly, with considerable attention given to correlating the events of frontier Montana with the larger trends taking place in the United States at the same time. Source and secondary materials used are indicated by twenty-five pages of footnotes "placed at the end of the book to avoid troubling those who may not be interested in them." Maps, charts, and a number of well-chosen illustrations add their information. Though a bit too detailed to make any great appeal to the general reader, this book will appeal to the critical student as a worthy contribution to a more complete history of the state based upon carefully sifted source materials. The following minor errors are noted: John "Mullins" (p. 109) for John "Mullan"; "Clark's Fork" (p. 15 ff.) for "Clark Fork" of the Columbia; "Big Horn" (p. 49) for "Bighorn" River; and "Chouteau" (p. 402) for the town of "Choteau." The index confuses William A. Clark, the copper king, with William Clark, the explorer (p. 402); the page reference for note 10 (p. 365) should be page 341 rather than page 391. Kullyspel House was built by David Thompson on Pend Oreille Lake in 1809, rather than in 1808 (p. 15); and Howe's House according to all available evidence lasted only during the summer and autumn of 1810, rather than being "operated for several years" (p. 52).

EDWARD EARL BENNETT

TULSA: FROM CREEK TOWN TO OIL CAPITAL. By *Angie Debo*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1943, pp. xii, 123, \$1.50.) The last two of the ten chapters of this little book deal with twentieth century Tulsa, Oklahoma, which claims to be the oil capital of the world. Necessarily, it is a brief summary, but it is suggestive of a somewhat subdued chamber of commerce pamphlet, illustrated by two photographs of oil installations and one of churches. The cow-town chapter is excellent, so far as it goes, but needs perspective to indicate the important practice of grazing transient cattle in the bluestem pastures to the north of the city—this is the more important because the procedure still continues. The unique portion of this little book, however, and the part that provides amply its justification is the story of the Indian regime. The Lochapoka town of the Creek Indians was an offshoot of the Tallasi, visited in 1540 by De Soto, and, upon transplantation to the Creek reservation in Oklahoma in 1836, took the name Tallasi, contracted to Tulsa, to designate its western home. This history of the Indian Tulsa is a by-product of the author's larger work *The Road to Disappearance*, a history of the Creek nation, and represents a highly competent handling of a local theme that was only incidental to the parent book. It is a type and quality of local history that is much too rare in the West. The dramatic climax of the book was reached well before the end in the appearance of Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake) before a committee of the United States Senate, November 23, 1906. Not even the mutilation of the text by an incompetent Indian interpreter can destroy the rhetorical quality of the old chief's plea in defense of his own way of life. Here is the raw material, as though made to order, for a tragic drama, a standing invitation to a literary artist in search of a theme. The white man's oil capital



of the last two chapters comes as an anticlimax, which Miss Debo probably did not intend but which is emphasized by the fact that it follows the simple eloquence of Chitto Harjo's indictment of civilization.

JAMES C. MALIN

A PARTIAL LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS IN CALIFORNIA INTERESTED IN CALIFORNIA HISTORY. Compiled by the California State Historical Association. Second edition, with reports of activities, 1935-1940. (Los Angeles, California State Historical Association, 1942, pp. 127.)

RESOURCES OF PACIFIC NORTHWEST LIBRARIES: A SURVEY OF FACILITIES FOR STUDY AND RESEARCH. By *John VanMale*, Director, Pacific Northwest Bibliographic Center. (Seattle, Pacific Northwest Library Association, 1943, pp. xv, 404, \$4.00.) To the volumes already published on *Resources of Southern Libraries* and *Resources of New York Libraries* is added now a third volume, entitled *Resources of Pacific Northwest Libraries*. Like its predecessors it becomes at once indispensable for scholars in the area or concerned with the historical and cultural resources of the area. The Board on Resources of the American Library Association has sponsored the series and it is to be hoped can carry it through until it covers all similar regions. An important outcome of such surveys should be better regional co-operation in building strong specialized collections. This volume, good and useful in itself, ought to have influence in an area where conditions should favor building special strength by avoiding waste of resources by senseless rivalry and duplication.

#### ARTICLES

- THOMAS D. CLARK. The Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, April 22, 23, 24, 1943. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- RUSSELL H. ANDERSON. Advancing across the Eastern Mississippi Valley [1790-1860]. *Agricultural Hist.*, Apr.
- WILLARD R. JILLSON. Aaron Burr's "Trial" for Treason, at Frankfort, 1806. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Oct.
- Id.* A Sketch and Bibliography of the Kentucky State Historical Society, 1836-1943. *Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc.*, July.
- GEORGE K. HOLBERT. Barney, Forgotten Hero. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- WILLARD ROUSE JILLSON. Thomas Benton Ford and Laura Catherine Ford: Biographical and Literary Notes and Criticisms. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1943.
- OTTO H. ROTHERT. Report of the Dedication of the Inscriptions on the Thomas Jefferson Statue, Louisville, July 4, 1943. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Oct.
- KENNETH ROSE. A Nashville Musical Decade, 1830-1840. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Sept.
- LAURA E. LUTTRELL and POLLYANNA CREEKMORE. Writings on Tennessee Counties. *Ibid.*
- SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS. The Tennessee State Flag. *Ibid.*
- A. ELIZABETH TAYLOR. A Short History of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT G. PATERSON. Ohio Medical History, 1835-1858: Still Further Aspects. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Oct.
- Id.* The Belmont Medical Society, 1847-1860: An Early County Medical Society in Ohio. *Ibid.*
- A. E. WALLER. The Breadth of Vision of Dr. John Strong Newberry. *Ibid.*
- PHILIP D. JORDAN. The Secret Six: An Inquiry into the Basic Materia Medica of the Thomsonian System of Botanic Medicine. *Ibid.*
- EDWARD C. MILLS. Dental Education in Ohio. *Ibid.*
- DONALD F. CARMONY. Indiana Territorial Expenditures, 1800-1816. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, Sept.
- KENNETH M. STAMPP. Kentucky's Influence upon Indiana in the Crisis of 1861. *Ibid.*
- NELLIE A. ROBERTSON. John Hays and the Fort Wayne Indian Agency. *Ibid.*
- ANNA POUCHER. Genealogical Material in the Indiana State Library. *Ibid.*
- RUTH EWERS HABERKORN. Owen Lovejoy in Princeton, Illinois. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Sept.
- C. H. CRAMER. The Political Metamorphosis of Robert Green Ingersoll. *Ibid.*



- W. SHERMAN SAVAGE. The Contest over Slavery between Illinois and Missouri. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, July.
- MARTHA MAY WOOD. Traces in Early Missouri, 1700-1804. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, Oct.
- FREDERIC A. CULMER. A Snapshot of Alexander W. Doniphan, 1808-1887. *Ibid.*
- FREDERIC M. PUMPHREY. The Old St. Joe Gazette. *Ibid.*
- WILEY B. RUTLEDGE. Missouri, Crossroads of the Nation. *Ibid.*
- JULIET M. GROSS. Missouri and the War. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM W. POTTER. The Michigan Judiciary, 1664-1805. *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, Summer.
- Civil War Experiences of a German Emigrant as Told by the Late Joseph Ruff. *Ibid.*
- Mrs. LLOYD DEWITT SMITH. General Isaac Shelby. *Ibid.*
- MILO M. QUAIFE. The Story of Our Flag. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE W. STARK. Schermerhorn of the [Detroit] Times. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM M. McLAUGHLIN. Judge Joseph Williams [1801-70]. *An. Iowa*, Oct.
- WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Town and Countryside in 1843. *Palimpsest*, Oct.
- REEVES HALL. The Election of 1843. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Come to the Turkey Valley. *Ibid.*, Nov.
- BEN HUR WILSON. Lincoln at Burlington [1858]. *Ibid.*, Oct.
- REEVES HALL. A Year of Victory [1863]. *Ibid.*, Aug.
- BERT B. CHILD. Civil War Musicians. *An. Iowa*, Oct.
- THOMAS P. CHRISTENSEN. Frederik Lange Grundtvig [1855-1903]. *Ibid.*
- WILSON L. TAYLOR. Charles Cleveland Nutting [1858-1927]. *Palimpsest*, Sept.
- CATHARINE GRACE BARBOUR FARQUHAR. Tabor and Tabor College. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, Oct.
- PHILIP D. JORDAN. Preserving Our National Heritage. *An. Iowa*, Oct.
- PETER LEO JOHNSON. Milwaukee's First Mass. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Sept.
- J. J. SCHLICHER. Hans Balatka and the Milwaukee Musical Society. *Ibid.*
- MARION G. OGDEN. John Ogden, Milwaukee Pioneer. *Ibid.*
- ANGIE KUMLIEN MAIN. Thure Kumlien, Koshkonong Naturalist. *Ibid.*
- CARL WITTKE. American Germans in Two World Wars. *Ibid.*
- EMMA GLASER. How Stillwater Came to Be. *Minnesota Hist.*, Sept.
- HILDEGARDE BINDER JOHNSON. The Carver County German Reading Society. *Ibid.*
- BERTHA L. HEILBRON. Walter Reed in Minnesota. *Ibid.*
- LOUISE BARRY. The New England Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1855. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Aug.
- RUSSELL K. HICKMAN. Lewis Bodwell, Frontier Preacher: The Early Years [I]. *Ibid.*
- MARTHA B. CALDWELL. The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912. *Ibid.*
- RUTH ANN SHELTON. Stories of Nebraska Communities: I, The History of Nehawka, 1855-1941. *Nebraska Hist.*, Apr.
- HAZEL HAYWARD JIMERSON. Stories of Nebraska Communities: II, The Story of Peru. *Ibid.*
- RICHARD W. THORNTON. Stories of Nebraska Communities: III, Boom Town [Kearney]. *Ibid.*
- MERRILL J. MATTES. A History of Old Fort Mitchell. *Ibid.*
- EMMA POSPISIL. A Teacher of the Willow Creek School [Mrs. Cedalia Collins]. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1943.
- R. E. ARNETT. Ranching in Northeastern Colorado in the Early Eighties. *Colorado Mag.*, Nov.
- SCUDDER MEKEEL. A Short History of the Teton-Dakota. *North Dakota Hist. Quar.*, July.
- DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. Eastern Records of Early Wyoming Newspapers. *An. Wyoming*, July.
- MARIE H. ERWIN. Cheyenne Indian Portraits Painted by George Catlin. *Ibid.*
- DEE LINFORD. Wyoming Stream Names [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT L. WRIGLEY, JR. The Early History of Pocatello, Idaho. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Oct.
- ROBERT L. WILLIAMS. Oklahoma and Indian Territory as Embraced within the Territory of Louisiana, over Which the Laws of the United States Were Established. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Sept.
- NORMAN ARTHUR GRAEBNER. History of Cattle Ranching in Eastern Oklahoma. *Ibid.*
- FRED S. CLINTON. From Brush Arbor to Boston Avenue: The First Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Tulsa, Indian Territory. *Ibid.*
- JAMES HENRY GARDNER. The Lost Captain—J. L. Dawson of Old Fort Gibson. *Ibid.*
- LOUIS M. GANAWAY. New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861 [III]. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Oct.
- GEORGE WINSTON SMITH. New Mexico's Wartime Food Problems, 1917-1918 [I]. *Ibid.*

- LESLIE A. WHITE. *Punche: Tobacco in New Mexico History*. *Ibid.*
- DUDLEY T. MOORHEAD. Sectionalism and the California Constitution of 1879. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- ALICE HENSON ERNST. Eugene's Theatres and "Shows" in Horse-and-Buggy Days. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Sept.
- WILLIAM H. GALVANI. Recollections of J. F. Stevens and Senator Mitchell. *Ibid.*
- LEWIS A. MCARTHUR. Oregon Geographic Names: Fourth Supplement. *Ibid.*
- Thompson Coit Elliott, 1862-1943: A Tribute. *Ibid.*
- CLAUDIUS O. JOHNSON. George Turner, Part II: United States Senator and Counsel and Arbitrator for the United States. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Oct.
- CARL F. REUSS. The Farm Labor Problem in Washington, 1917-1918. *Ibid.*
- HOWARD D. KRAMER. The Scientist in the West, 1870-1880. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Sept.

## DOCUMENTS

- G. GLENN CLIFT. Kentucky Marriages and Obituaries [concl.]. *Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc.*, Apr.
- HUNTLEY DUPRE. Three Letters of George Nicholas to John Brown. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1943.
- NINA M. VISSCHER. Memoir of Lexington and Its Vicinity, by William Leavy. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1943, Apr., July.
- STANLEY F. HORN. Tennessee Volunteers in the Seminole Campaign of 1836: The Diary of Henry Hollingsworth [concl.]. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Sept.
- Some Additional Jennings Letters [1809-1826]. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, Sept.
- Letters of Thomas Cate Reynolds, 1847-1885. *Missouri Hist. Soc. Glimpses of the Past*. Jan., 1942.
- An Iowa Land "Bargain" a Century Ago [letter dated Fort Madison, Oct. 19, 1843]. *An. Iowa*, Oct.
- SIDNEY GLAZER. Wisconsin as Depicted in the Michigan Press [1842-47]. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Sept.
- Bonneville's Expedition to Rocky Mountains, 1832-1836, by Gouverneur K. Warren [first lieutenant, corps of topographical engineers; reprinted from official record]. *An. Wyoming*, July.
- Investigation as to the Causes of Indian Hostilities West of the Missouri River, 1824. *Ibid.*
- J. NEILSON BARRY. An Excerpt from the Journal of E. Willard Smith, 1839-1840. *Ibid.*
- LANSING B. BLOOM. Historical Society Minutes, 1859-1863 [concl.]. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Oct.
- HARRY E. PRATT. Twenty-two Letters of David Logan, Pioneer Oregon Lawyer. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Sept.

## Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

## GENERAL

- DESCUBRIMIENTO DE LA AGUJA NAUTICA, DE LA SITUACION DE AMERICA Y DEL ARTE DE NAVEGAR. By *Antonio Raymundo Pasqual*. (México, D. F., Pan American Institute of Bibliography and Documentary Sources, Apartado Postal 8626, 1943, pp. viii, 94, \$3.00.) A facsimile reproduction of the Madrid edition of 1789.
- NEW VIEWPOINTS ON THE SPANISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA. By *Silvio Zavala*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943, pp. 118, \$1.25.) This handsomely printed collection of essays will do much to bring English-speaking students up to date on the results of recent research concerning Spanish-American colonial history. Zavala treats concisely and intelligently the legal claims of Spain to

the Indies, the doctrine of just war in the conquest, Indian slavery, the political and social aspects of the *encomienda* system, and the social experiments which distinguished Spain as a colonizing power from all other European nations. None of the facts presented is particularly new to those who are familiar with the carefully selected bibliography cited by the author. We now take it for granted that the Spaniards were an extremely legalistic people, that the *encomienda* system did not include property rights to land and that it was not the precursor of the modern *hacienda*, that political passions had much to do with the interpretations given to papal bulls, and that the Spanish colonization of America was "characterized by a rich social ideology and a substantial amount of experimentation." The value of this collection is that it provides the general reader with a lucid synthesis and scholars with a framework to use as they seek the truth for themselves on disputed points. Zavala demonstrates three capacities in this slender volume. First, although a scholar with many publications to his credit, he has prepared a work of interpretation for the intelligent general reader. Second, he shows himself familiar with the pertinent material that has appeared in Europe, Latin America, and the United States, a considerable and unusual achievement, for the bibliography is widely scattered. Moreover, the author emphasizes the Continental approach to the historical study of American problems and points out that the student of Indian slavery, for example, will profit from a knowledge of the English, French, and Portuguese experience in working on the topic in Spanish colonies. Third, Zavala shows a serenity of judgment not always found in a discussion of the much-mooted questions raised in these essays. His essentially legalistic approach will not entirely satisfy the pragmatist who wants to know not only what the law was but also how it worked. But the full story of the Spanish conquest cannot be told until more special studies are available, and these essays may well help to produce them.

LEWIS HANKE

ANAIS DO SEGUNDO CONGRESSO DE HISTÓRIA NACIONAL (7-14 DE ABRIL DE 1931). Volumes II-III. [Special publication of the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*.] (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1942, pp. 781; 767.) These two volumes resume the publication of the theses and papers presented at the conference, the first volume of which appeared in 1934.

#### ARTICLES

- IRVING A. LEONARD. Light Reading in Sixteenth Century Spanish America. *Bull. Pan Am. Union*, Sept.
- JUAN CRISÓSTOMO GARCÍA. Guía de las principales iglesias bogotanas. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Apr.
- LORENZO ARELLANO SCHETELIG. Origen, tradición y leyenda de la feria de Santa Rita [Chihuahua] [cont.]. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.*, May.
- W. ERNEST AITKEN. La familia Jaramillo de Andrade en el Tolima. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, June.
- G. DEBIEN. Notes sur les journaux de Saint-Domingue. *Rev. Soc. Hist. et Géog. Haïti*, Apr.
- FRANSISCO DE MORAIS. Estudantes brasileiros na Universidade de Coimbra (1772-1872). *Anais Bib. Nac. Rio de Janeiro*, 1940 [1942].
- CARLOS RODRÍGUEZ MALDONADO. El maestro platero Joaquín Matajudíos, orfebre santaferño de los siglos XVIII y XIX. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, June.
- MIGUEL SORONDO. El papado y la revolución americana de 1810. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).
- R. ANTONIO RAMOS. Correa da Câmara en Asunción. *Ibid.*
- Price-Mars. La coopération haïtienne dans la lutte des peuples américains pour la conquête de leur indépendance. *Rev. Soc. Hist. et Géog. Haïti*, Oct.
- BARÃO DE RIO BRANCO. O Brasil, os Estados Unidos e o Monroismo. *Rev. Inst. Hist. Geog. Bras.*, Jan., 1943.

- ROYCE A. WRIGHT and FRANK R. KELLEY. Clipping the Axis Wings. *Inter-Am.*, Sept.
- HERBERT W. BRIGGS. Treaties, Executive Agreements, and the Panama Joint Resolution of 1943. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Aug.
- KINGSLEY DAVIS. Political Ambivalence in Latin America. *Jour. Legal Pol. Sociol.*, Oct., 1942.
- FRANK TANNENBAUM. A Note on Latin American Politics. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Sept.
- BAILEY W. DIFFIE. The Ideology of Hispanidad. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Aug.
- LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ. A New Interpretation of the History of America. *Ibid.*
- FRANK TANNENBAUM. Agrarismo, Indianismo, y Nacionalismo. *Ibid.*
- MANUEL GAMIO. Static and Dynamic Values in the Indigenous Past of America. *Ibid.*
- Homenaje a la memoria del doctor Eduardo Posada miembro fundador de la Academia y su primer presidente. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Mar.
- LUIS GARCÍA PIMENTEL. Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta. *Divulgación Hist.*, Sept.
- CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA. La colección latinoamericana de la Universidad de Texas. *Ibid.*, Oct.

## INDEXES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND ARCHIVE GUIDES

- ALEJANDRO ALBORNOZ. Fuentes para el estudio de la historia hispano-americana—Documentos y libros existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Buenos Aires—Descubrimiento de América [cont.]. *Rev. Bib. Nac.* (Buenos Aires), Jan., 1943, Apr.
- GUILLERMO HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA. El cedulaario del cabildo de Bogotá [1532-1760]. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Apr.
- CARLOS CORTÉS VARGAS. Noticia sobre el archivo de las juntas de temporalidades de las colonias españolas con referencia a la expulsión de los padres jesuitas. *Ibid.*, June.
- R. H. BARLOW. The 18th Century *Relaciones Geográficas*: A Bibliography. *Tlalocan*, I, no. 1 (1943).
- JOSÉ TORRE REVELLO. Catálogo de las relaciones impresas de méritos y servicios, relativos al período colonial en la Argentina, que se conservan en el Archivo general de Indias [1807-25] [concl.]. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).
- Id.* Archivo general militar de España. *Ibid.*
- Archives de planteurs, III. Papiers Bréda, Noé, Butler, d'Hericourt et Polastron. *Rev. Soc. Hist. et Géog. Haïti*, Apr.
- JUAN CANTER. Bibliografía de Martiniano Leguizamón [preceded by an extensive biographical essay]. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).
- LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ and ALFREDO M. SACO. Aprista Bibliography: Books and Pamphlets. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Aug.
- FEDERICO SCHWAB. Libros y folletos peruanos publicados en 1942. *Bol. Bibliográfico*, July.
- CRISTINA CÓRDOBA F. Selección de artículos publicados en revistas y periódicos nacionales llegados a la Biblioteca [Central de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Lima] desde el 1.º de diciembre de 1942 hasta el 15 de mayo de 1943. *Ibid.*
- Noticias bibliográficas [440-page survey of the historical literature of the Americas for 1941-42, including books, magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets]. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).
- RAÚL PORRAS BARRENECHEA. Pasión y muerte de la Biblioteca Nacional de Lima. *Bol. Bibliográfico*, July.

## COLONIAL PERIOD

- LA POLÍTICA COLONIAL Y EXTRANJERA DE LOS REYES ESPAÑOLES DE LA CASA DE AUSTRIA Y DE BORBÓN Y LA TOMA DE LA HABANA POR LOS INGLESES. By *Eduardo Martínez Dalmau*. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (La Habana, imp. "El Siglo XX," 1943, pp. 103.)

## NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

- CRISTOBAL COLÓN Y LA ISLA ESPAÑOLA. By *J. Marino Inchaústegui*. (Santiago, Dominican Republic, Editorial El Diario, 1942, pp. xvii, 167, plus unpaginated indexes, illustrations, maps, etc.)

ARTICLES

- ALBERTO MARÍA CARREÑO. Opulencia y pobreza de Borda. *Divulgación Hist.*, Sept.  
 R. H. BARLOW. The *Mapa de Huilotepec. Tlalocan*, I, no. 2 (1943).  
 JEAN DELANGLEZ. El Río del Espíritu Santo [cont.]. *Mid-Am.*, Oct.  
 Misantla, breves apuntes. *Divulgación Hist.*, Sept.  
 FRANCISCO DE LA MAZA. La vida conventual de Sor Juana. *Ibid.*, Oct.  
 IRVING A. LEONARD. Montalbán's "El Valor Perseguido" and the Mexican Inquisition, 1682. *Hispanic Rev.*, Jan.  
 ALBERTO MARÍA CARREÑO. Los PP. Salvatierra y Kino y la Península de California. *Divulgación Hist.*, Oct.  
 EL VEN. Gregorio López. *Ibid.*  
 JEAN DELANGLEZ. The Sources of the Deslisle Map of America, 1703. *Mid-Am.*, Oct.  
 CLINTON N. HOWARD. Spanish Grants in British West Florida. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, Oct.  
 ERNEST RICHARD MOORE. Un mapa desconocido del padre Font. *Divulgación Hist.*, Oct.  
 JOSÉ JUAN ARROM. Representaciones teatrales en Cuba a fines del siglo XVIII. *Hispanic Rev.*, Jan.  
 La congregación del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri en la Ciudad de México. *Divulgación Hist.*, Sept., Oct.  
 ALMACAR (pseud.). El ilustre Colegio de Abogados. *Ibid.*, Sept.

DOCUMENTS

- ÁNGEL MA. GARIBAY K. Huchuetlatolli, documento A. Transcripción paleográfica del MS. MPM4068.J83 de la Biblioteca Bancroft. *Tlalocan*, I, nos. 1-2 (1943).  
 GEORGE T. SMISOR. Testimonio de los autos formados sobre la provisión de la ración de idioma mexicano vacante en la insigne y real colegiata de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe extramuros de la Capital de México. Año de 1779. *Ibid.*, I, no. 2 (1943).

SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

- NOBILIARIO DEL ANTIGUO VIRREYNATO DEL RÍO DE LA PLATA. By Carlos Calvo. Volume VI. (Buenos Aires, Librería y Editorial "La Facultad," 1943, pp. 453.) The sixth and last volume of this well-known Argentine genealogical work begins with the Huergo family and ends with the Zuvirías.

ARTICLES

- LUIS AUGUSTO CUERVO. El inquieto vivir de los días coloniales. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, June.  
 GABRIEL GIRALDO JARAMILLO. Introducción a la estética colonial. *Ibid.*  
 JOSÉ ANTONIO GUTIÉRREZ FERREIRA. Evocación de Santafé. *Ibid.*  
 ANTOÍN BEDOYA V. La farmacia en la colonia. *Rev. Farmacéutica Peruana*, Feb.  
 ENRIQUE MARCO DORTA. La arquitectura del renacimiento en Tunja. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, June.  
 SERGIO ELÍAS ORTIZ. Miguel Cabello de Balboa. *Ibid.*, Apr.  
 FERNANDO MORALES GUIÑAZÚ. Los conquistadores de Cuyo y los fundadores de Mendoza. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).  
 IRVING A. LEONARD. "Guzmán de Alfarache" in the Lima Book Trade, 1613. *Hispanic Rev.*, July.  
 ERNESTO RESTREPO TIRADO. Espolio del Obispo de Cartagena Fray Luis de Córdova Ronquillo. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Apr.  
 EMILIA ROMERO. El indio santo del Perú. Apostillas a un libro antiguo [Bernardo Sartolo, S. J., *Vida admirable y muerte prodigiosa de Nicolás de Ayllón*, Madrid, 1684]. *Bol. Bibliográfico*, July.  
 MANUEL JOSÉ FORERO. Apuntaciones para la historia de la Biblioteca Nacional [Bogotá]. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Apr.  
 JUAN DE DIOS ARIAS. El Colegio de San José de Guanenta en San Gil (Primera época, 1787-1824). *Ibid.*  
 RICARDO R. CAILLET-BOIS and JULIO CÉSAR GONZÁLEZ. Nuevos aportes sobre el primer periódico impreso de Buenos Aires. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).

## DOCUMENTS

- Archivo de Indias. Descripción de la ciudad de Tunja sacada de las informaciones hechas por la justicia de aquella ciudad en 30 de mayo de 1610. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Apr.
- Libro de matrícula de estudiantes de los reales estudios del Colegio de San Carlos de Buenos Aires, 1773-1818 [cont.]. *Rev. Bib. Nac.* (Buenos Aires), Jan., 1943, Apr.
- BELISARIO MATOS HURTADO. Apuntaciones y documentos para la historia de Pamplona (El antiguo Convento de San Agustín). *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, June.
- El virrey Caballero de Croix al Bailío Frey Antonio Valdés, sobre inconveniencia de aplicación de las Ordenanzas de Intendentes, año 1790. *Rev. Bib. Nac.* (Buenos Aires), Jan., 1943.
- "Materia médica misionera," del hermano Pedro Montenegro [cont.]. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1943, Apr.
- HÉCTOR C. QUESADA. Nuevos escritos de Mariano Moreno. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).
- JUAN F. PÉREZ ACOSTA. Los contingentes paraguayos en las invasiones inglesas de 1806 y 1807. *Ibid.*
- "Memorias curiosas" o "Diario" de Juan Manuel Beruti [1807] [cont.]. *Rev. Bib. Nac.* (Buenos Aires), Jan., 1943, Apr.

## BRAZIL

DOCUMENTOS HISTÓRICOS. Volumes LV-LVIII, PORTARIAS 1718-1719; PROVISÕES, PATENTES, ALVARÁS 1693-1699. [Brazil, Ministerio da Educação e Saude, Biblioteca Nacional.] (Rio de Janeiro, Typ. Baptista de Souza, 1942, pp. 400; 400; 399; 399.)

## ARTICLES

- AYRTON CARVALHO. Algumas notas sobre o uso da pedra na arquitectura religiosa do nordeste. *Rev. Serviço Patrimônio Hist. Art. Nac.*, 1942.
- HANNAH LEVY. A pintura colonial no Rio de Janeiro. *Ibid.*
- LUIZ DE AGUIAR COSTA PINTO. Lutas de famílias no Brasil (éra colonial). *Rev. Arq. Mun.*, Jan., 1943.
- J. MANUEL ESPINOSA. José de Anchieta: Apostle of Brazil. *Mid-Am.*, Oct.
- F. SOMMER. Quem foi o impressor e quem o ilustrador da edição primitiva do livro de Hans Staden? *Rev. Arq. Mun.*, Jan., 1943.
- SERAFIM LEITE. O Colégio de Santo Alexandre e a Igreja de S. Francisco Xavier, de Belém do Grão-Pará: Notícia sumária da sua fundação pelos jesuítas e da escola de escultura e pintura que nele funcionava. *Rev. Serviço Patrimônio Hist. Art. Nac.*, 1942.
- CLEMENTE MARIA DA SILVA NIGRA. A prataria seiscentista do Mosteiro de S. Bento. *Ibid.*
- ARTUR CEZAR FERREIRA REIS. Roteiro histórico das fortificações no Amazonas. *Ibid.*
- BARBOSA LIMA SOBRINHO. Santo Antonio, padroeiro de Pernambuco. *Rev. Inst. Hist. Geog. Bras.*, Jan., 1943.
- ADAILTON SAMPAIO PIRASSINUNGA. O ensino militar no Brasil (período colonial). *Rev. Inst. Hist. Geog. Rio Grande do Sul*, Jan., 1943.
- OLINTO SANMARTIN. Aspectos econômicos da velha Porto Alegre. *Ibid.*
- JOSÉ DE ALMEIDA SANTOS. O estilo brasileiro D. Maria ou colonial brasileiro. *Rev. Serviço Patrimônio Hist. Art. Nac.*, 1942.

## DOCUMENTS

- SERAFIM LEITE. Capítulos que Gabriel Soares de Sousa deu em Madrid ao Sr. D. Cristovan de Moura contra os padres de Companhia de Jesus que residem no Brasil, com umas breves respostas dos mesmos padres que deles foram avisados por um seu parente a quem os ele mostrou. *Anais Bib. Nac. Rio de Janeiro*, 1940 [1942].
- NORONHA SANTOS. Um litígio entre marceneiros e entalhadores no Rio de Janeiro. Autos de execução de 1759-1761. *Rev. Serviço Patrimônio Hist. Art. Nac.*, 1942.

NATIONAL PERIOD

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

ARTICLES

- JESÚS GARCÍA GUTIÉRREZ. La ceremonia del Grito de Dolores. *Divulgación Hist.*, Sept.  
 JULIO MITCHELL. Episodios históricos sinaloenses. *Ibid.*, Oct.  
 JOSÉ CARLOS CHÁVEZ. Peleando en Tomochi. Cómo luchan los serranos chihuahuenses [concl.]. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.*, May.  
 RÓMULO ESCOBAR. Memorias de Paso del Norte [cont.]. *Ibid.*  
 LORENZO PARRA E. Reseña histórica-geográfica de S. Juanito, Chih. hasta el año de 1935. *Ibid.*  
 Varios autores. Excmo. y Rvmo. Sr. Dr. don Pascual Díaz Arzobispo de México. *Divulgación Hist.*, Sept.  
 JUAN B. BUITRÓN. Excmo. y Rvmo. Sr. Dr. D. Luis María Martínez XXXVIII y actual arzobispo de México. *Ibid.*, Oct.

CUBA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, AND HAITI

- G. DEBIEN. Le plan et les débuts d'une cafière a St-Domingue. La plantation la Merveillère aux Anses-à Pitres (1789-1792). *Rev. Soc. Hist. et Géog. Haïti*, Oct.  
 ———. Nemours. Nos deux collines inspirées: le Fort de Joux, la Citadelle. *Ibid.*, Apr.  
 Une lettre sur l'expédition de 1802. *Ibid.*  
 T. C. BRUTUS. La mystique de Toussaint Louverture. *Ibid.*  
 LOUIS DARONDEL. La fortune de Toussaint Louverture et Stephen Girard. *Ibid.*

SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

ARTICLES

- ENRIQUE NARANJO MARTÍNEZ. Alejandro Macaulay (Un héroe norteamericano en la liberación de Colombia). *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, Apr.  
 Id. Alexander Macaulay in the Liberation of Colombia, South America. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, July.  
 MARIO BELGRANO. En torno a los retratos de Rivadavia y Belgrano. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).  
 JULIO BARRIGA ALARCÓN. Juicio contra el general Santander por la conspiración de septiembre. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, June.  
 DARDO CORVALÁN MENDILAHARSU. Antecedentes sanjuaninos sobre la supresión constitucional de los derechos de tránsito. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).  
 ENRIQUE OTERO D'COSTA. José María Obando. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, June.  
 FELIPE BARREDA LAOS. Ángel Vicente Peñalosa, "El Chacho." *Rev. Bib. Nac.* (Buenos Aires), Jan.  
 HORACIO RODRÍGUEZ PLATA. Apuntes para una historia del periodismo en Santander [cont.]. *Estudio*, Mar.  
 RICARDO PICCIRILLI. La sátira a "Los periodistas argentinos," de Echeverría. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).  
 ABELARDO ARENAS FRAGA. Relación histórica de las misiones diplomáticas argentinas. Embajadas y legaciones [cont.]. *Rev. Bib. Nac.* (Buenos Aires), Jan., 1943, Apr.  
 ADOLFO CÓRDOBA. Batalla de Palonegro (11-26 de mayo de 1900). *Estudio*, Mar.  
 ROBERT EDWARDS MCNICOLL. Intellectual Origins of Aprismo. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Aug.  
 HARRY BERNSTEIN. Power Politics on the Río de la Plata. *Inter-Am.*, Sept.

DOCUMENTS

- MIGUEL A. CARVAJAL DE CASTRO. En memoria de la casa de Merizalde. *Estudio*, Mar.  
 EMILIO RAVIGNANI. Acuerdos secretos de la Secretaría de Guerra del Poder Ejecutivo, entre los años 1813 y 1817 [cont.]. *Bol. Inst. Invest. Hist.*, XXVI (1942).  
 Correspondencia del déan Funes con el libertador Bolívar y el mariscal Antonio José de Sucre, referente al Congreso de Panamá, situación de Colombia, guerra del Brasil con las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata [1826] [concl.]. *Rev. Bib. Nac.* (Buenos Aires), Jan., 1943.



- Límites entre Salta y Santiago del Estero [1839]. *Ibid.*  
 Preparativos en Europa para la expedición del General Flores contra América [1846]. *Ibid.*  
 El general Justo José de Urquiza.—Campaña contra la dictadura de Rosas [with introduction by Felipe Barreda Laos] [1846–56]. *Ibid.*, Apr.  
 Política argentina. Asuntos varios. Correspondencia de Mariano Balcarce a Félix Frías [1849–1856]. *Ibid.*  
 Intervención europea en el Río de la Plata; Correspondencia entre Valentín Alsina y Félix Frías; Correspondencia entre Luis L. Domínguez y Félix Frías [1849–74] [concl.]. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1943.  
 Las montoneras del caudillo General Ángel Vicente Peñalosa (El Chacho), 1863. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1943, Apr.  
 Gestiones preliminares referentes al tratado tripartito entre Perú, Bolivia y la República Argentina, 1874. *Ibid.*, Apr.  
 Josué Acosta R. El padre Romero. *Estudio*, Mar.  
 Carta del poeta Roberto de J. Díaz en la que relata la muerte del general Francisco Gómez Picón [November 23, 1899]. *Ibid.*

## BRAZIL

## ARTICLES

- ALBERTO RANGEL. O album de Highcliff (The [Charles] Landseer Sketchbook). *Rev. Serviço Patrimônio Hist. Art. Nac.*, 1942.  
 Em torno de R. Southey (no centenario de sua morte). *Rev. Inst. Hist. Geog. Bras.*, Jan., 1943.  
 HELIO VIANNA. A última crise ministerial do segundo reinado. *Ibid.*  
 BARBARA HADLEY. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in Brazil. *Inter-Am.*, Oct.  
 KARL LOEWENSTEIN. Legislation against Subversive Activities in Brazil. *Harvard Law Rev.*, July.  
 SAMUEL PUTNAM. Race and Nation in Brazil. *Sci. and Soc.*, Fall.

## DOCUMENTS

- RODOLFO GARCIA. Narrativa de viagem de um naturalista inglês [Sir Charles James Fox Bunbury] ao Rio de Janeiro e Minas Gerais (1833–1835). *Anais Bib. Nac. Rio de Janeiro*, 1940 [1942].  
 GUERRA DOS FARRAPOS. Ordens do dia do general Barão de Caxias, 1842–1845. *Ibid.*

## American Historical Association

The Historical Service Board, which is undertaking the task of supplying educational materials to the Army for use in soldiers' volunteer discussion groups, began its work October 1 under the director, Theodore C. Blegen, with offices in the Library of Congress Annex. Pamphlets are being prepared on a wide variety of significant current questions in such fields as America's allies, international and national affairs, and community and personal problems. The questions have been derived from men in the ranks through samplings conducted by the War Department in this country and overseas. The Board, a panel of historians, economists, political scientists, and sociologists, consists of Messrs. Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University, now in Washington, serving on the Social Science Research Council; Robert E. Cushman, Cornell University; Guy Stanton Ford, American Historical Association; Dixon Ryan Fox, Union College; Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies; Edwin G. Nourse, Brookings Institution; J. Salwyn Schapiro, College of the City of New York; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University; Robert R. Wilson, Duke University; and Donald Young, University of Pennsylvania, now serving on the Social Science Research Council. At a meeting held on November 27 Mr. Ford was elected chairman. The Board is turning confidently to the scholarship of the country for co-operation in the preparation of basic materials in the fields represented. The director reports that numerous pamphlets are now being written and that some manuscripts have been completed.

By the time this issue reaches its readers the report of the Committee on the Teaching of American History should be off the press. The committee, sponsored jointly by the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies, completed its joint labors on October 1. Certain editorial revisions and the decision to introduce tables and perhaps graphs have delayed publication until about January 15, 1944. The report makes a small volume to be brought out under the imprint of the Macmillan Company. It is brief, vigorous, and specific to a greater degree than many of its predecessors. It is constructive and in no sense revolutionary. School programs can be readily adjusted to its recommendations. The committee membership was:

### Chairmen, ex officio

Theodore C. Blegen, President, Mississippi Valley Historical Association,  
University of Minnesota

Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary, American Historical Association,  
Library of Congress Annex, Washington, D. C.

## Members

O. F. Ander, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois  
 Harold W. Bradley, Stanford University  
 R. W. Cordier, State Teachers College, Clarion, Pennsylvania  
 Philip Davidson, Vanderbilt University  
 D. L. Dumond, University of Michigan  
 John D. Hicks, University of California  
 Harold Long, Glens Falls High School, Glens Falls, New York  
 Louis Pelzer, State University of Iowa  
 Paul Seehausen, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, Indiana  
 Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University  
 Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University

## Director

Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota

The attention of libraries and individuals receiving the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1942 is called to an error on the title page of the volume on *Talleyrand in America* by Huth and Pugh. This volume is Volume II of the whole report, which appears in three volumes, and not Volume II of three volumes on Talleyrand, as might be inferred from the title page.

"The Story behind the Headlines," formerly on the air at 11:30 P.M., Sunday evening, is now being broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company at 5:30 P.M. (EWT), Saturday afternoon.

## Other Historical News

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: manuscript of chronological catalogue, by Leopold von Sonnleithner, of operas, oratorios, cantatas, and ballets performed at the imperial theaters of Vienna, 1631 to 1806 (in German); six papers of John Rodgers (1773-1838), 1740 to May 31, 1804, and undated; one volume of accounts and diary entries of Charles Beatty of Pennsylvania, January to December, 1762; typewritten manuscript signed by Mary Emily Donelson Wilcox, entitled "Mary Smith" (telling of the latter's elopement with Samuel Donelson), undated; thirteen papers of, or pertaining to, William Wilberforce (English philanthropist and statesman), August 26, 1780, to February 2, 1819, and undated; manuscript (one volume) of musical theory on the Scala Maxima, by Dr. Benjamin Cooke (English composer), ca. 1780; negative photostats of twenty-two letters of Thomas Jefferson, 1780 to 1825 (originals in the Boston Public Library); one box of papers (about 114 pieces) of Seth Barton, Daniel Jenifer, and other members of their families, 1781 to 1876 and undated; typewritten manuscript of "Washington's Secret of 1782: An Un-

published MS., by Clowry Chapman, with a Foreword by Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits," 1937, bound with related correspondence from 1930 to 1942; five letters of, or pertaining to, British leaders in the abolition of slavery (John Abercrombie, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Thomas Clarkson, and Granville Sharp), January 19, 1785, to October 11, 1833, and undated; contemporary copy of letter from the governor general and Council of Bengal, India, to the court of directors, Secret Department of Inspection, English East India Company, Fort William, July 31, 1785; negative photostats of forty-four letters of the Marquis de Lafayette, 1785 to 1833 and undated (original manuscripts at Lafayette College); printed form of "A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month of May-1786 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785"; six letters from William Maclay to Benjamin Rush, March 19, 1789, to May 7, 1790; one box of typewritten manuscript by the author of "Master Mariner: The Life and Voyages of Amasa Delano," by James B. Connolly, August 11 to October 19, 1942, and covering *ca.* 1789 to 1812 (including copy of log of Captain Delano); two boxes of fragments of letters and documents from personal files of Andrew Jackson, 1789 to 1845; letter from Thomas Paine to Benjamin Rush, Paris, March 16, 1790; contemporary copy of petition of John Amory, asking to be allowed to return to Boston, *ca.* 1790; forty-two manuscripts and nine newspaper clippings on the Cornick family of Princess Anne County, Virginia, 1793 to 1867; ten letters from William Sullivan to Robert Goodloe Harper, and one from Harper to Sullivan, March 12, 1796, to January 7, 1799; two boxes of papers of William Warren (American actor and theatrical manager), September 9, 1796, to December 6, 1831, and undated; thirty-eight papers of Samuel Osborne (M.D., United States Army), comprising personal records of his court martial, 1796 to 1802 and undated; articles of agreement by which Robert Morris agrees to convey certain land in Pennsylvania to James Biddle and William Bell in trust for persons who became purchasers of shares in the Pennsylvania Land Property Company, recorded March 23, 1797; five letters from James Wilkinson to Thomas Biddle, W. W. Burrows, and Jonathan Williams, October 28, 1800, to December 4, 1807, and undated; letter from James Madison to the Secretary of the Treasury, November 28, 1801, typewritten copy of letter from Madison to consuls and vice-consuls of the United States, June 10, 1801; negative photostats of petition of Colonel Antonio Tomaso Lefko in behalf of Antonio Georges Hindi, addressed to the Imperial Court, referred to Sultan Selim III, and followed by latter's decree, dated years of the Hegira, 1218 and 1219 (1801 and 1802), and translation; four letters to Dolly Madison, May 4, 1802, to November 15, 1823; carbon copy of typewritten copy of letter from James Madison to Robert R. Livingston, Washington, October 28, 1803; trial notes in case of ejectment, by Alexander Hamilton, undated; letter of James Madison to [?], May 30, 1806; typewritten copy of letter from Thomas Jefferson to Horatio Turpin, June 10, 1802; letter from Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Rush, September 22, 1809; typewritten copy of letter from Thomas Jefferson to Thomas W. Maury, Monticello,

January 27, 1816; document by Thomas Jefferson giving description by Mr. John Fraser, Chelsea, London, of a stopper for opening a sewer drain in cities, undated, and copy by Jefferson of document in French entitled "Belier hydraulique: Notes de Mongolfier a M. Poype," undated; small volume of "Subscription for the Author of the Declaration of Independence," dated to July 11, 1826; letter from James Monroe to Benjamin Rush, June 15, 1811; typewritten copy of letter of James Monroe, relating to the "Missouri question," July 12, 1820; five large boxes of papers of Henry Clay, other members of the Clay family, and James Morrison; letter from John McLean (American jurist) to Ethan S. Brown, August 29, 1817; letter from John McLean to a Mr. Chambers, February 2, 1824; copy of printed circular letter from Committee on behalf of the Merchants, Baltimore, Maryland, to William Burleigh, H. R., Washington City, March 10, 1824; letter from Andrew Jackson to Abner Greenleaf, May 6, 1828; two letters of John Tyler, to Robert Y. Hayne, June 20, 1831, and to M. D. Philips, August 20, 1857; log-book of the schooner *Tryal*, March 16, 1832, to January 20, 1833; two letters from Zachary Taylor to Colonel R. Jones, one dated May 12, 1834, enclosing copy of letter from E. A. Hitchcock to Taylor of May 9, 1834, and one dated July 15, 1834; two rolls of negative microfilm of papers of, and pertaining to, Abraham Lincoln, 1838 to 1934 and undated, from microfilms in New York Public Library; letter from James Knox Polk to Samuel H. Laughlin, January 20, 1844; letter from Millard Fillmore to Ivory Chamberlain, undated, relating to annual message to Congress, December 6, 1852; two letters of Franklin Pierce, February 23, 1848, and August 21, 1858; two boxes of papers (including ten volumes) of R. Evans, on astrology, spiritualism, and related subjects, thirteenth century to 1936 (mainly 1854 to 1926) and undated; one box of replies by libraries in the District of Columbia and Kentucky to questionnaires sent to them by the Smithsonian Institution, 1855 to 1857; seventeen volumes of diaries of Edwin Greble (eleven volumes) and Mary L. Dreer (six volumes), 1855 to 1872 and undated; volume of autograph signatures, quotations, and poems by distinguished Americans and foreigners, 1855 to 1937 and undated, with negative photostats of contents of the volume; letter from Roger Brooke Taney to Joseph Henry, July 19, 1859; letter from Thomas Starr King to C. W. Christ, Boston, October 4, 1859; letter from William Henry Seward to Gideon Welles, October 15, 1861; eleven boxes of papers of John Vance Cheney, 1862 to 1922 and undated; manuscript of a statement by William Tecumseh Sherman on military strategy at the battle of Missionary Ridge, with mention of Generals Bragg and Grant, November 23, 1863; one box of papers on charitable and philanthropic societies in Russia, 1865 to 1876 and undated; five papers of Montgomery Cunningham Meigs, May 28, 1867, to May 24, 1888, and undated; two boxes of papers of William Pirie, relating to the construction of the Library of Congress, 1869 to 1900 and undated; letter from Harriet Beecher Stowe to Lady Amberley, Hartford, June 23, 1870; typewritten copy, with autograph corrections, of letter from Philip Henry Sheridan to Ulysses Simpson Grant,

September 13, 1870; eight additional papers (including four volumes) of Charles Edmond Vourion, 1872 to 1886 and undated; scrapbook of papers of Isaac Kauffman Funk, 1876 to 1907 (about fifty-eight pieces); letter from Morrison Remick Waite to Frank Thomas, Lyme, Connecticut, July 11, 1877; letter from James Abbott McNeill Whistler to Mr. Blott, relating to Whistler's portrait of Thomas Carlyle, *ca.* 1878; about 1,600 manuscripts, chiefly literary, accumulated by Benjamin Ticknor and his daughter, largely nineteenth and twentieth centuries; 121 letters from, and relating to, Woodrow Wilson and other members of the Wilson family, August 3, 1882, to June 24, 1931, and undated; 264 large containers of papers of, and relating to, Booker Taliaferro Washington, mainly 1883 to 1916 and undated; document by Frederick Dent Grant, son of U. S. Grant, listing and describing souvenirs of his father, undated (to Wendell Phillips); about 1,000 papers of Marshall Pinckney Wilder; typewritten letter, signed, from Thomas A. Edison to John Dean, July 7, 1887; letter of Oliver Wendell Holmes (the poet), June 12, 1887; sixty-three papers collected by John S. Shriver, secretary to the Gridiron Club, 1887 to 1910 and undated (mainly letters from Presidents of the United States, members of their cabinets, and members of Congress); letter from Theodore Roosevelt to [?] Bryan, November 18, 1888; one box of letters from Theodore Roosevelt to W. Robert Foran, and related papers, 1909 to 1917 and undated; letter from Melville W. Fuller to Carrie Fuller, May 27, 1889; typewritten copy of quotations from the Springfield *Daily Republican* and *Sunday Republican* and the Northampton *Daily Herald*, July 18 to 22, 1889, relating to lecture by Woodrow Wilson at Laurel Park, Northampton, Mass., July 20, 1889; letter from Woodrow Wilson to Arthur Brisbane, April 25, 1917 (restricted); typewritten memorandum by Mary Anderson, July 2, 1929, which includes copy of letter to her from Woodrow Wilson, March 1, 1919, and account of interview which she and Rose Schneiderman had with him, April 17, 1919 (relative to mission to Paris) (restricted); sixteen papers of Archibald Forbes (British war correspondent), relating to Grant-Sheridan-Warren controversy, Crimean War, and descendants of the Stuarts, 1889 to 1898 and undated; three boxes of additional papers of Waldo L. McAtee relating to wild life, 1896 to 1943 and undated; 182 boxes of papers of Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, dated mainly 1900 to 1911 and undated (restricted); four volumes of manuscript of "Historia de las Revoluciones de Honduras y Nicaragua en los últimos diez años," by Fernando Somoza Vivas, Tegucigalpa, 1901; letter from John Masefield to a Mr. Richards, January 23, 1903; one volume of manuscript entitled "Memorie Aneddottiche Sorrentine di Angelo Flavio Guidi con Poesie di Carmine C. Gallone," inscribed to Miss Theo. Casey, 1904; two letters of Clara Barton, one to Mrs. E. M. Rothman, October 27, 1907, and one to Miss Lena M. Rothman, November 26, 1909; one box of papers of Elizabeth Madox Roberts, *ca.* 1912 to 1940 and undated; manuscript volume of list, with index, kept by Edwin C. Dinwiddie, of resolutions of the United States Senate and House of Representatives on prohibition, April 7, 1913.

to January 26, 1915; one large box of papers of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain; letter of Alan Seeger, May 31, 1926, enclosing "An Ode in Memory of the American Volunteers Fallen for France, 1914-15-16"; four boxes and one portfolio of papers of Alessandro Fabbri (lieutenant, United States Navy R.F.) as officer in charge of the radio station at Otter Cliffs, Bar Harbor, Maine, mainly 1917 to 1921 and undated; letter of Sir William Henry MacKinnon, March 30, without year; two letters to Solomon B. Kagan, one from Louis D. Brandeis, July 13, 1930, and one from James J. Walsh, March 21, 1934; scrapbook, mainly clippings, relating principally to the duke and duchess of Windsor, ca. 1931 to 1940 and undated; manuscript of "The Name of France" (poem) by Henry Van Dyke, undated; two boxes and one portfolio of papers of, and relating to, Gertrude Atherton; letter from Victor Monod, member of the faculty of Protestant Theology at the University of Strasbourg, to a colleague, January 18, 1936; one box of papers of Arthur Guiterman, March 22, 1936, to April 19, 1941, and undated; one volume of *William McKinley Commemorative Tributes*, compiled by Charles Ulysses Gordon, February, 1942; one box of miscellaneous autograph signatures, letters, and photographs of distinguished people, collected by Robley Durham Stevens, mainly 1938 to 1943 and undated; three boxes of typewritten and autograph manuscript of a history of the Library of Congress by Frederick W. Ashley, June, 1939; manuscript of "War Graves of Europe 1939-1918" (poem) by Colin Keith-Johnston, October, 1939; typewritten manuscript of "The Autobiography of Pontius Pilate," by Haywood Broun, undated; one volume of manuscript copy of translations of poems of Ming Wu, by John Myers O'Hara, 1941; eight letters, mainly relating to the history of medicine, addressed to Solomon R. Kagan by Arturo Castiglioni, Morris Fishbein, Karl Landsteiner, Max Neuberger, Sir Humphry Rolleston, and Henry E. Sigerist, September 27, 1940, to August 30, 1943; Betty Wason's diary, January 1 to July 28, 1941, with eighteen photographs of people and scenes of the war in Greece and Albania; typewritten manuscript with autograph corrections by Henry Alexander of translation of "Ride This Night," a novel by Carl Artur Volhelm Moberg (Swedish writer), January 20, 1943; typewritten manuscript by the author, signed, of "The Story of Dr. Wassell" by James Hilton, June, 1943; and draft in pencil of Part III of "Claire Ambler" by Booth Tarkington, undated.

Recent accessions have greatly added to the already large collection of still photographs in the National Archives. Exclusive of duplicates, there are now more than eight hundred thousand glass-plate and film negatives, tin types, stereoscopic views, color transparencies, paper prints, radiophotos, microfilm, and other types of photographs in the National Archives. The largest group relates to military affairs. Transfers from the Signal Corps and the Historical Section of the Army War College have concentrated in the National Archives the major pictorial records of all the wars in which the United States has been engaged from the beginning of the Civil War through World War I. Among the earliest



items are the Civil War pictures made by Mathew B. Brady and T. H. O'Sullivan and the latter's photographs of the Darien expedition of 1872. Also significant historically and photographically are the International Boundary Commission pictures, 1892-94, of border towns, mines, and missions, the late nineteenth century hand-colored lantern slides of T. H. McAllister, and the Jackson photographs of Yellowstone Park and the Far West. Another large group of special records in the National Archives—maps and charts—has also been increased by recent transfers. Among the materials received are the maps, many of them of strategic areas, compiled by the Cartographic Study, a New York City WPA project; Army Map Service maps, 1870-1942, of various countries and areas, chiefly European; Naval Intelligence maps, 1875-1935, of countries throughout the world, with some emphasis on Mexico, other parts of Latin America, and the Far East; and the entire body of manuscript maps, 1855-1936, of the Hydrographic Office, Navy Department, that embody the results of sounding and other hydrographic surveys in foreign waters. Other accessions of note are certain scientifically interesting files of the Hydrographic Office, including records of naval expeditions, 1811-1939, and surveyors' field notebooks and "boat" and "smooth" sheets, 1855-1939, from which printed charts are derived; War Department records such as the general court-martial records, 1917-20, records of various military departments and posts, 1857-1910, and Confederate and Union Army records; anti-trust files of the Department of Justice, 1920-33; and records of the United States Antarctic Service, 1939-42.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the appointment of Dan Lacy, formerly assistant to the Archivist, as director of Operations in the National Archives. Philip C. Brooks, formerly assistant director of Records Accessioning and Preservation, has been made assistant director of Operations. Thad Page, administrative secretary, will serve also as chief of the Division of Legislative Archives, and Elizabeth E. Hamer, formerly acting chief of the Division of Information and Publications, has been named assistant administrative secretary. Gerald J. Davis, a member of the National Archives staff for six years, has been appointed chief of the Division of Justice Department Archives. Members of the staff who have recently been transferred to do records administration or research work in other government agencies include Forrest L. Foor, Elbert L. Huber, Gibbs Myers, Marie C. Stark, and Harvey J. Winter. Among members of the staff who have recently entered the armed services are Kenneth W. Munden, Allen M. Ross, and Jerome Thomases. Edward G. Campbell and Robert Claus have returned to the National Archives after receiving honorable discharges from the Army.

The President has recently made significant additions to the collection of manuscripts relating to naval history in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York. Among the materials received were a number of logs and

journals of such United States naval vessels as the *Essex*, the *John Adams*, the *Enterprise*, the *Constitution*, the *Shark*, the *Missouri*, and the *Brooklyn*, mainly for the period 1800 to 1821, but some for as late as 1888; a letter-book and journal of Captain Matthew C. Perry relating to the improvement of the Port of New York, April 14-July 29, 1837; and the "General Letters," October 25-December 2, 1863, of Rear Admiral David D. Porter as commanding officer of the Mississippi Squadron. The logs and journals received are not official records but are the "rough logs" or drafts kept by the ships' officers and traditionally retained by them as their personal property. Copies of official Navy records were also received in the form of 1,434 rolls of microfilm of records of the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department. Records of the period 1776 to 1922 are covered, including correspondence between naval officers and department officials; captains' and commanders' letters, general letters, and "fleet," "squadron," "station," and "cruise" letters; acceptances of appointments, resignations, dismissals, orders, court martials, and muster and pay rolls; and correspondence relating to expeditions, such as the Wilkes exploring expedition of 1840-42. These microcopies admirably supplement the naval manuscripts collected by the President. Additional sections of his White House files have also been transferred to the library by the President. They cover the period from March, 1933, through June, 1943, and include correspondence and reports on national resources; correspondence concerning special groups and organizations, such as the American Liberty League, the United States Conference of Mayors, and the Workers Alliance of America; letters from the public on such national issues as neutrality, the draft, and aid to Great Britain; correspondence and reports relating to the administration of independent agencies and boards of the government; letters to the President endorsing candidates for appointment to executive posts; materials relating to the Warm Springs Foundation; and stenographic reports of the President's press conferences, January-June, 1943. A selection of materials from the library, including manuscripts, books, naval prints, photographs, ship models, and other museum items, has been placed on display in the Exhibition Hall of the National Archives in Washington. The exhibition was opened October 2 and remained on view until the end of December.

Senator George William Norris of Nebraska, whose long and distinguished service in the United States Senate came to a close last year, has presented his papers to the Library of Congress. Over one hundred thousand items are included in the gift, which comprises one of the largest and most important manuscript collections in the library. Partly because of the inadvertent destruction of some of Senator Norris' files in 1926 the quantity of the papers which relate to the earlier part of his career has been considerably reduced. For most of the years since 1900, however, the collection contains much source material on the political and social history of the United States as reflected in the work of this veteran legislator who came to Congress when Theodore Roosevelt was President and

remained there for forty years. Access to the papers at present is permitted only to those who have the senator's consent.

Resumption of editing and publication of the field notes of the WPA's American Imprints Inventory is announced by the Bibliographical Society of America, with aid of a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation. The project's supervisory committee has appointed Douglas C. McMurtrie, former national editor of the American Imprints Inventory, as editor in chief. The staff will work at the Newberry Library. The lists edited by the project will be issued as printed cloth-bound volumes and will be offered for subscription to individual volumes or the series. The title of the publications will be "Bibliography of American Imprints." The address of the project is 60 West Walton Place, Chicago 10, Illinois.

Collectors of war records have been appointed for ninety-seven of North Carolina's one hundred counties. In addition, 122 assistant collectors have been named. To date an estimated total of 37,550 war record items have been collected, including soldiers' letters, press releases, posters, pictures, newspapers, and museum items. In August a one-day school for collectors of war records was held in Chapel Hill, sponsored by the Office of Civilian Defense, the State Department of Archives and History, and the Institute of Government. In spite of travel difficulties seventy persons from all parts of the state were present. In a further attempt to facilitate the problems of preserving records Governor Broughton, at the request of the State Department of Archives and History, asked the head of each state department, institution, or agency to name a member of his staff to serve as records administrator to co-operate with the Department of Archives and History in the solution of problems involving the handling, disposal, and preservation of official records.

The tenth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was held at Hamilton, Ontario, September 22-23. In the absence of the president general, the Rev. Dr. H. J. Somers, the presidential address at the banquet was given by the president of the English section, the Rev. Brother Alfred, F.S.C. The principal address at the general session was made by the Hon. J. J. Hearne, high commissioner for Ireland. Eight historical papers were read in the sessions of the English section and six in those of the French section. The association announces the following officers for the coming year: honorary president, the Most Rev. J. M. Rodrigue, Cardinal Villeneuve, O.M.I.; president general, the Rev. Thomas Charland, O.P.; English section: president, the Rev. Brother Alfred, F.S.C.; secretary, Dr. J. F. Kenney; French section: president, Dr. Gustave Lanctôt; secretary, Dr. Séraphin Marion.

On October 1, 1942, Cornell University established the Collection of Regional History to gather, house, and preserve manuscripts from upstate New York and adjacent areas. One year has sufficed to bring together source materials of promising

quality and quantity. Among other items may be named the Ezra Cornell Letters, 1865-75; Andrew D. White Letters, 1890-1902; Daniel S. Lamont Papers, 1860-87; and the files of many upstate newspapers.

An interesting note on history statistics, taken from *Publishers' Weekly*, gives the information that during the first ten months of 1942, 536 history books were published, and during the first ten months of 1943, 440 history books were published—which may account for the more sylph-like *Review*.

The Department of State reported last fall that the current number of the *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography* was the first to be published by the National Library of Peiping in several years and that copies had recently reached the United States. The Chinese and English editions of the bulletin serve as a guide to important publications in China and the West. The State Department co-operated with the National Library of Peiping in making possible the resumption of the quarterly.

The forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held in the building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 3080 Broadway, New York City, on February 12-13, 1944.

The third volume to be published by the Cortes Society will be an illustrated volume, with documents dealing with the rise of Fernando Cortes and prepared by H. R. Wagner. Advance orders will determine the size of the edition.

## Personal

Charles McLean Andrews, acting President of the American Historical Association in 1924 and President in 1925, died in New Haven on September 9, 1943, in his eighty-first year, after a short illness. He was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and educated at Trinity College, Hartford, and at Johns Hopkins. It was appropriate that, as a native of one of the earliest Connecticut towns and a direct descendant in the seventh generation of pioneer settlers of that colony, he should have written his doctoral dissertation on *The River Towns of Connecticut* (1889) and then gone on to devote the major part of his life to the study and interpretation of American colonial history. He became convinced that the most fruitful approach to a historical period was through its institutions and that the colonies could be understood only when placed against the English background. These two principles underlay nearly all his writing. Among the twenty-eight volumes and sixty articles which he produced he himself considered almost his most important contributions to be three volumes of guides to the materials for early American history in British archives, published by the Carnegie Institution. Not only did they give other investigators invaluable tools, but the writing of the introductions to the various departmental sections of these volumes also compelled him to break

new ground in studying the history and functioning of the various British agencies of colonial administration. Mr. Andrews will probably be best remembered for his *Colonial Background of the American Revolution* (1924), a group of four interpretive essays, and for his *Colonial Period of American History* (1934-38). Four volumes of the latter work appeared, written, all of them, after his retirement, three on the settlements and one on British commercial and colonial policy. When the first volume appeared it was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. He planned but did not complete three others, on the social and economic growth of the colonies, on their political and institutional development, and on the Anglo-American conflict. In the volumes published the emphasis lies on the essentially colonial nature of early American history and on the institutions of settlement and administration. At the time of his death he was engaged in editing with his wife "The Journal of Jonathan Dickinson." This volume will shortly be published. During his forty-four years of teaching at Bryn Mawr, Johns Hopkins, and Yale he was as much interested in the training of younger scholars as he was in his own writing; and he had a profound influence upon a large group, not only of his own students, who were devoted to him personally, but also of young men and women generally who came to him for help and guidance.

Edna Vosper Decatur died on September 13. She had studied at the University of Michigan, at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, and at the University of Madrid. She was for some years curator of manuscripts at the William L. Clements Library and in 1936 became associate director of the Reference Division, National Archives. Among her publications are *Report on the Sir John Vaughan Papers in the William L. Clements Library* (1929) and *Letters from Major Baurmeister to Colonel von Jungkenn, Written during the Philadelphia Campaign*, which she edited with Bernhard A. Uhlendorf (1937).

Professor Richard T. Ely, who died October 4 at the age of eighty-nine, will properly be remembered chiefly as an economist. As such, however, a young man fresh from his studies in Germany, he introduced at Johns Hopkins and continued at Wisconsin the emphasis upon the historical approach. A number of his many volumes were distinctly historical and path-breaking by reason of the themes he chose, notably the little volume on *French and German Socialism* (1883). He was one of the founders of the American Economic Association in 1885. As most of the graduate students who majored in history at the University of Wisconsin under Professors Turner or Haskins, or in political science under Professor Reinsch, from 1892 on also took work with Professor Ely in economics, he was always proud to add them as former students to the list of distinguished economists he could really call his products.

Edwyn Robert Bevan, the English historian and archaeologist, died in London, October 19, in his seventy-ninth year. Much of his work had to do with the history

of Greece, Egypt, and India. He was a contributor to the *Cambridge Ancient History* and to the *Cambridge History of India*. The volume on *Christianity* in the "Home University Library" was written by him. During the first World War he served in the British propaganda office and was later attached to the foreign office.

Morgan P. Robinson associated with the Archives Division of the Virginia State Library since January 1, 1915, died on October 24 at the age of sixty-seven. Well known as an archivist, Mr. Robinson was a life member of the American Historical Association and the author of *Virginia Counties: Those Resulting from Virginia Legislation*. He also compiled *A Complete Index to Stith's History of Virginia*.

Professor Edward M. Sait, since 1928 professor of political science in Pomona College and before that in the University of California, died October 27 at the age of sixty-two. Many of his publications are essentially historical in approach or treatment. His first publication was *Clerical Control in Canada* (1911), based on his doctor's dissertation at Columbia University. Among others may be mentioned *Government and Politics of France* (1920), *British Politics in Transition* (1925), and *American Parties and Elections* (revised edition, 1939).

Private Herbert M. J. Illfelder died in Italy on November 14. He is so far as reported the first member of the Association to lay down his life in battle action. Mr. Illfelder joined the Association in 1939 while a student at Harvard University.

Dr. James A. Woodburn, professor emeritus of American history at Indiana University, died December 11 at the home of his son in Madison, Wisconsin. He had just passed his eighty-seventh birthday. Mrs. Woodburn preceded him in death by a few months. Professor Woodburn was a veteran member of this Association and was the oldest member present at the meeting in Washington in 1942. He was born in Bloomington, Indiana, and there he spent all his active years, graduating from the university in 1876 and returning to teach in his alma mater after taking his doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins in 1890 and retiring thirty-four years later. He taught in summer sessions in other universities and was the recipient of honorary degrees from Colgate and Wabash. He was president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1923 and of the Indiana Historical Society from 1923 to 1931. It is as a teacher, editor, and writer that Professor Woodburn will be best remembered. In the classroom he was the embodiment of the scholar and the gentleman. Students in Indiana University who had him in American history, Samuel Bannister Harding in European history, and Amos Hershey in international law were an appreciative and privileged group. Several of the volumes he published were in the nature of high-school and college texts in collaboration with the late Thomas F. Moran of Purdue. Professor Woodburn was author of the *Life of Thaddeus Stevens* (1913) and *Political Parties and Party*

*Problems in the United States* (last revision, 1922). His first volume of a *History of Indiana University* (1941) carried the story to 1901. He edited at various times volumes of speeches and orations by Burke and Webster and the better known *Johnston's Representative American Orations*, four volumes (1895-97), and was a regular contributor to the *American Year Book* and to leading encyclopedias and the *Dictionary of American Biography*. His was indeed a full and rewarding life.

Dumas Malone, director of the Harvard University Press for the past seven years, has resigned to devote himself to the completion of the biography of Thomas Jefferson on which he has been working for some time. During the coming winter he will make his headquarters at the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, a center of Jeffersonian study.

Allan Nevins, professor of American history at Columbia and author of many historical books and biographies, twice winner of a Pulitzer Prize, has been appointed special representative of the OWI in New Zealand. Professor Nevins, whose post is in Wellington, must return to Columbia University during February and so could not accept a permanent appointment.

Richard Heindel, director of the American Library in London, returned to this country during the fall and told of the great importance of getting American books, research studies, and other factual material to London promptly. The library has become an important source of information since it opened last May and is being turned to by American representatives in London and others who find their way to its resources. Mr. Heindel is on leave from the University of Pennsylvania.

Wilbur K. Jordan, general editor of the University of Chicago Press and professor of English history in the university, has been elected president of Radcliffe College. He began his duties on October 1.

Carl S. Meyer, professor of history at Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, Minnesota, has accepted the presidency of Luther Institute, Chicago, Illinois.

Professor Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University has been appointed visiting lecturer in history at Harvard University for the winter and spring terms.

Harvey Wish, who received a post-doctoral fellowship from the Social Science Research Council, is spending the year at Harvard University, studying political and social theory.

Catherine E. Boyd, Wells College, has been appointed associate professor and head of the department at Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pennsylvania.

At Butler University Dr. Franklin L. Burdette has been made an associate



professor and Dr. David M. Silver has become an assistant professor of history and political science.

Iowa State College announces the promotion to the rank of assistant professor of W. Turrentine Jackson, Daryl Pendergraft, and L. K. Bowersox.

Sidney L. Jackson, first lieutenant, Signal Corps, has been transferred to the historical research staff of the Chief Signal Officer. Lt. Jackson is a former member of the history department of Queens College.